CIVILL CONSIDERATIONS VPON MANY AND SVNDRIE HISTORIES, AS WELL ANCIENT AS MODERNE, AND principallie vpon thoſe of *Guicciardin.*

CONTAINING SVNDRY RVLES AND PRECEPTS FOR PRINCES, COMMON-WEALTHS, CAPTAINES, CORONELS, Ambaſſadours and others, Agents and ſeruants of Princes, with *ſundry aduertiſements and counſels concerning a ciuill life, gathered out of the examples of the greateſt Princes and Common-wealths in Chriſtendome.*

HANDLED AFTER THE MANNER OF A diſcourſe, by the Lord *Remy* of Florence, and done into *French by* Gabriel Chappuys, *Tourangeau, and out of French into Engliſh, by* W. T.

AT LONDON
Imprinted by *F. K.* for *Matthew Lownes*, and are to be ſold at his ſhop vnder S. Dunſtons Church in the Weſt. 1601.

TO THE NOBLE, VALOROVS, AND MOST WORTHIE OF ALL HONOVR, SIR ROBERT SYDNEY KNIGHT, LORD GOVERNOVR OF FLVSHING, and the Caſtle of the Ramekins, &c.

MY Lord, knowing my ſelfe much bounden vnto your Lordſhip, for vndeſerued fauour ſome yeares paſt by your Lordſhip extended in my behalfe: in conſideration whereof, hitherto I haue not had any poſſibilitie to manifeſt my deſire to doe your Lordſhip ſome agreeable ſeruice: but almoſt euer ſince vnable for the Warres, or other forraine employment, haue remained in this Citie: where encountring many bookes treating of ſundrie ſubiects, one compiled by an Italian Gentleman, tranſlated into the French tongue, and dedicated to the Duke de Ioyenſe, *came to my hands, containing ſundrie diſcourſes of Princes, Common-wealths, Chieftians in*

Warres and others, collected out of seuerall Authors, but chiefely out of Guicciardin. *Which seeing it hath with good acceptance passed among those two Nations, I presumed could not be but well intertained among our Countrey men, for whose benefite, I attempted to set it out of French into our vulgar tongue. And as it was my fortune many yeares since, first to beare Armes vnder your Lordships leading and commaund in the Warres: so this being the first fruite of my labour with my pen, I humbly present vnto your Lordship; beseeching the same to accept thereof, as a pledge of the honour, loue, and dutie which I owe, vntill it shall please God to inable me to make better shew thereof. I meane not herein to be vnderstoode to presume to prescribe any rules or precepts for your Lordshippe to follow, whose wisdome, learning and experience is well knowne sufficient to compile any volume of farre greater experience: But if that by your Lordships censure, this may passe for currant, I rest assured that it will be generallie well accepted, and nothing doubt, but that many thereby may reape profit, and therein finde fit aduertisements to learne them by other mens harmes to beware, and examples to imitate, which if it so happen, I shall holde*

holde my time and labour well employed. If the ſtile pleaſe not as I deſire, I intreate to be held the more excuſed, ſeeing it is my firſt fault herein, and alſo ſeeing that in former time it hath bin the leaſt part of my profeſſion: but if I euer hereafter vndertake the like taske, I will, God willing, indeuour to make amends. And ſo humbly beſeeching your Lordſhip to pardon this my preſumption, praying to God for the long continuance of your health, increaſe of all worldly honour, and perpetuall felicitie in the world to come: I reſt euer

Your Lordſhips in all dutie moſt
humble to be commanded,

W. T.

TO THE MOST HIGH AND MOST MIGHTY LORD,

MY LORD ANNE DE IOYENSE, DVKE AND PEER OF FRANCE, FIRST GENTLEMAN OF THE KINGS CHAMBER, CAPTAINE OF an hundred men at Armes of his Ordenaunces, Admirall of *France and Bretaigne, Gouernour and Lieutenant Generall for his Maiestie in his Countrey and Duchy of Normandie.*

MY Lord, the Philoſopher *Bion*, being demaunded what beaſt was moſt noyſome vnto all men, anſwered, if you aske me of ſauage wild beaſts, it is a Tyrant: but if you aske me of tame beaſts, it is a Flatterer. *Diogenes* as I remember, made in a manner ſuch an anſwere, who in place of a Tyrant, ſpeaketh of a detractor and backbiter, and ſaith in another place, as *Antiſthenes* in *Laertius*, that it is more dangerous to fall among Flatterers, than among Rauens, I haue deſired to be farre from that vice, which now adaies is common and familiar with many men, who in the beginning of their workes, inſert a thouſand lyes, attributing exceſſiue praiſes vnto thoſe, vnto whom they addreſſe the ſame, a man may rightly call them the fauning dogs of Kings, Princes, and great Lords, euen as *Diogines*, of whom we haue aboue made mention,

mention, called *Ariſtippus*, becauſe he flattered *Dionyſius*, the Tirant of Syracuſa: the interpreter of *Nicephorus* in his Eccleſiaſticall hiſtorie, reporteth, that *Conſtantine* Emperour of the Romanes, did ſo abhorre Flatterers, that he called them the Moathes and vermine of the Court: *Sigiſmond* did ſo hate them, that hearing one (beyond meaſure) to praiſe him, comparing him with the Gods, he gaue him a blowe on the eare: *Alfonſo* King of Arragon and Sicilia, ſaid that Flatterers were like vnto Wolues, and as Wolues in grating and gnawing vſe to deuoure certaine other beaſts, euen ſo Flatterers tend to the ruine of Princes and great Lords by their flattering and lying. To what purpoſe ſo many examples? to ſhew (my Lord) that vowing and conſecrating this my little labour, I intend not by flatterie, to procure to be the more acceptable, for although that I know my ſelfe farre from it, if I ſhould flatter you by too much praiſing you, I ſhould be afraide you would vſe me, as *Alexander* vſed the hiſtorian *Ariſtobulus*, who hauing written a booke of his acts (wherein he ſhewed himſelfe a flatterer) recited to him (in a certaine voyage by ſea) the contents thereof: *Alexander* being vnable to endure his flatterie, pluckt the booke out of his hands, and threw it into the Riuer Hydaſpis, and turning himſelfe towards him, ſaid, Thou doeſt better deſerue to be throwne there thy ſelfe, ſeeing that thou makeſt me ſo to fight alone, and that thou, with one onely dart killeſt an Elephant: euen ſo, thinking that I peraduenture exceeding the limits of reaſon, you might throwe my booke into the fire, and make a ſacrifice thereof vnto *Vulcan*. But to keepe me from this fault, in this dedica-

tion

tion, I haue deſired to obſerue two principall poynts, which will preſerue me from incurring the diſhoneſt name of thoſe abouesaid: the firſt is, that I here ſay not that to your praiſe, which I might well ſay, but doe rather holde my peace, than peraduenture to wander (to no purpoſe) through thoſe ſpacious fields of your praiſes, which ought to be handled by a more skilfull pen than mine. The ſecond is, that I addreſſe my ſelfe to a perſonage, ſo illuſtrious, noble, and generous, that although I ſhould ſay all the good of the world, I ought not to be reprehended of the vice abouesaid, ſeeing that he is not onely worthie of all praiſe, but alſo ſurpaſſeth it: the common report, all France, the fauour of the moſt Chriſtian moſt magnanimous, and moſt noble Monarke beare ſufficient teſtimonie of the rare vertues, and ſingular perfections which are in you, which raiſe you aboue all the greatnes which you enioy: for dignities & greatnes ſerue to little purpoſe, or are rather hurtfull, without the noble vertues wherewith they ought to be adorned: which is the cauſe that I boldly preſent vnto you, this my little booke, which although vnworthie of you, after an infinite number of others, which the gentle pens of our France haue dedicated vnto you, aſſuring me ſo much in your graue humanitie, that you will giue no worſe entertainement vnto this, which I here humbly preſent vnto you, than you haue done vnto others, which peraduenture more boldly haue preſented themſelues vnto your view. This doing (my Lorde) hauing made an end of the preface of my booke, of the eſtate, deſcription and gouernment of the kingdomes and Common-wealths of the world, almoſt imprinted to be

preſented

preſented to the King, you ſhall giue me occaſion to attempt (according to my ordinarie profeſſion of writing) ſome greater & more ſerious matter, which ſhal not peraduenture be vnworthie of you, & will not feare (ſeeing your naturall goodnes and clemencie) to wearie you with that, whereof you haue but too much, and which daily commeth to your hands, ſeeing the great number of bookes which are vowed vnto you, which maketh me ſtedfaſtlie to beleeue, that if you receiued them ill, and gaue them euill countenance, there would not be ſo many addreſſed vnto you; neither ſhould you be ſo followed by the muſes, which flie all thoſe which hate them: in the meane time, I beſeech you to accept in good part my humble deuotion, which I offer at the feete of your greatnes, which I pray our good God (my Lord) long to preſerue by his grace, and to graunt you *Neſtors* yeares, according to the deſire of all the gentle wits in France: from Paris the laſt of Nouember. 1584.

Your moſt humble, moſt obedient,
and moſt affectionate ſeruant,
Gabriel Chappuys Tourangeau.

THE ORDER OF THE CHAPTERS AND ARGV-MENTS HANDLED IN THESE CIVILL CONSIDERATIONS.

THe aduice of great Princes is not to be lightly regarded, but to be noted, especially if those Princes be friends. *Chap.1.fol.1*

That it is very dangerous to be gouerned by the same example, without the same reason, and the same fortune. *Chap.2.fol.3*

Whether it be lawfull vpon any occasion, to forget good turnes receiued, and not to seeme thankfull towards the benefactor. *Chap.3.fol.8*

That hee who by himselfe, or by any other, beginneth any daungerous enterprise, without foreseeing the end and issue thereof, bringeth himselfe and others in perill, and is constrained to doe some things, little to his honour. *Chap.4.fol.10*

That ill Genies and vncleane spirits often times suffer themselues to bee seene and heard by men, and haue appeared to diuers, foretelling them of many matters. *Chap.5.fol.12*

That it is very dangerous to iest and scoffe with men of valour, which are sudden, and as some say, haue their blood in their nailes. *Chap.6.fol.14*

Which may be well perceiued by the doings of Lewes Sforce, *when hee committed the guard of* Valencia *to* Donat Raffignin. *Chap.7.fol.17.*

That it is a great fault in any man to giue himselfe to robbing and pillage, when he ought to fight, which hath been the occasion of the ill successe of many faire enterprizes. *Chap.8.fol.18*

The Ambassadours of Princes ought not to shew themselues fearefull in any case, but vertuously to accommodate themselues to all occasions that shal happen. *Chap.9.fol.23*

Betweene reconciled friends the least suspition breedeth great distrust, and causeth them againe to become enemies. *Chap.10.fol.25*

It is an euill example in any Common-wealth to prescribe lawes, and not to obserue the same, principally in those which are the authors thereof, and doe not defend, and maintaine those lawes against all such as would infringe them. *Chap.11.fol.27*

The Contents.

In our affaires and occurrences we ought to settle and ground more trust and assurance in him which expecteth good from vs, then in him who hath alreadie receiued the same. Chap.12.f.29

He which taketh more authoritie vpon him then appertaineth to his dignitie and office, committeth an error, and seldome escapeth vnpunished. Chap.13.f.31

Whether a publike seruant of a Prince or Common-wealth may passe the limits of the Commission giuen to him or no. Chap.14.f.35

Whether Lewes Poggio *did erre in refusing to take possession of the Dutchie of Milan, in the name and behalfe of* Alphonse *King of Naples, because he had no commission thereto, the which estate was renounced and abandoned by* Phillip Maria *Vicount to the said King, being by him nominated and instituted heire vnto the said Dutchie.* Chap.15.f.38

That he who is disloyall and vnfaithfull to the first friend, may yet proue trustie and faithfull to the second. Chap.16.f.42

To denie vnto a people their first requests, is to make them the better content with what they receiue, and to make them the more moderate in their demaunds. Chap.17.f.44

That in chusing Generals, and chiefe Commanders, their vertue ought more to bee regarded, then the noblenes of their blood, or any priuate affection. Chap.18.f.46

That in time of dangerous warres, men of vertue and worth ought to be preferred and placed in gouernment, and when a man in small enterprizes hath caried himselfe honorably therein, and yet would make himselfe chiefe and haue principall commaund in great matters, he deserueth to be repelled and put back. Chap.19.f.48

How dangerous it is in two contrarie, and enemies Armies, to haue souldirs of one particular nation. Chap.20.f.51

That lightnes of beleefe is a great fault in any man, and that too much credulitie hath bred and caused many euils. Chap.21.f.53

That it is neither good nor sure to continue obstinate, and not to beleeue often aduertisements by sundrie persons. Chap.22.f.57

That the obstinacie of those who are established in great authoritie, breedeth many disorders, which afterwards cannot be remedied. Chap.23.f.60

That courtesies bestowed vpon obstinate enemies, vsing them with gentlenes and fauour, serue to no purpose, but are employed in vaine. Chap.24.f.62

That the suspitions increased and made greater, and the speeches and ill rapports by men in authoritie, is the occasion that men oftentimes become cruell. Chap.25.f.63

That

The Contents.

That no man ought either in ieſt or by any other meanes to put the Prince in iealouſie of his ſtate, for that it is a matter full of danger. Chap. 26. f. 65

Which may be well perceiued by the doings of Valentine, *who hauing requeſted paſſage of the Florentines, ſet forwards and marched on with his Armie, without attending their anſwere.* Chap. 27. f. 67

That Princes and great Lords ought not to deſpiſe him who deſireth audience, and chiefly if hee may peraduenture riſe to ſome high degree. Chap. 28. f. 69

That thoſe eſtates which are not mightie and puiſſant, cannot accommodate themſelues to valiant and couragious enterprizes, and that their reſolutions are more often taken perforce, then by their wils. Chap. 29. fol. 71

That he committeth a great error who repoſeth truſt in him to whom he hath done ſome former iniurie. Chap. 30. f. 73

That it is not a deede worthie of blame, by ſubtiltie and policie to draw vnto him a certaine kinde of pernicious men, to the end to puniſh them for faults committed, or to hinder and let them ſo as they commit no more. Chap. 31. f. 80.

That a man, be hee neuer ſo wicked, doth not alwaies all the ill which is in his power, no although hee haue a will and a deſire to doe the ſame. Chap. 32. f. 82

That enterprizes put in execution by the perſwaſion of Rebels and baniſhed men, are dangerous, and ſeldome come to good end. Chap. 33. f. 84

That the faults committed by the familiars and kinſmen of Princes, are oftentimes puniſhed in the perſons of thoſe Princes which haue tolerated thoſe faults, and not on thoſe friends and familiars which committed the ſame. Chap. 34. f. 86

That it is a thing very dangerous for a Prince or Common wealth, not to reuenge an iniurie done to the ſtate. Chap. 35. f 88

That hee who is in proſperitie, ought not to reproch him who is fallen into aduerſitie, for that hee little knoweth what may happen to himſelfe. Chap. 36. f. 90

That mightie Common-wealths and excellent perſonages ought not to be blamed, although they giue place to ſome great force, and be oppreſſed by fortune. Chap. 37. f. 92

That he who of an enemie will become a friend, ought not onely to forget all iniuries paſt, but alſo to put from him all ſuch things as may reduce the ſame to memorie. Chap. 38. f. 101

A man ought not to giue credit to an error, which he ſeeth committed by his enemy, but rather to beleeue that he doth ſuch a fault to ſome purpoſe, and

The Contents.

that vnder the same lieth hidden some deceit or ambush. Chap.39.f.103

A Captaine in time of warre ought in all times and places to be so vigilant and in such readines, that he may auoide the blame to haue warred preposterously, and not to haue thoroughly done his endeuour. Chap.40.f.106

When a man hath newes, and is aduertised of a victorie, it is better to pursue and assure the same, then to triumph and make good cheere for ioy. Chap.41.f.108

That enterprise seldome faileth which is noysome and hurtfull to the enemie, and whereof a man knoweth that hee standeth in feare. Chap.42. fol.111

To iniure the statues, images and pictures of Princes in their life time, is a poore reuenge, and oftentimes bringeth great harme to him who doth the same. Chap.43.f.112

A Prince or Common-wealth, which hath to deale with a mightie and well armed enemie, ought not to refuse any honest and reasonable composition and agreement, by reason that the hope of preuailing is doubtfull and incertaine. Chap.44.f.115

It is a great fault in confederates, to be slow in succouring and helping one another in time of daunger, and losse and dammage that riseth thereof. Chap 45.f.118

When succour sent to a friend or confederate, is insufficient to rid and free him out of daunger and trouble, through being too weake, it bringeth danger, losse and dishonour. Chap.46.120

An Ambassadour ought not to regard to be accounted importune by the Prince with whom he hath to deale, prouided that he satisfie his own Prince in that which he desireth. Chap.47.f.122

What manner of men they ought to bee, who are sent in ambassade and office to other Princes. Chap.48.f.123

That an enemie be alwaies accounted of and held in reputation: for who so regardeth him not, despiseth him, often to his owne losse and dammage. Chap.49.f.125

Vertuous and worthie deeds are alwaies more requited with ingratitude and reproch, then with commendation and reward. Chap.50.f.128

Princes ought to giue eare to such as complaine of their gouernours and officers: for it is a dangerous thing not to regard them. Chap.51.f.131

Publike officers and ministers of Princes being found guiltie in hauing done any vniust thing, ought to be punished for example. Chap.52.f.133

To execute crueltie is often hurtfull to him that vseth it. Chap.53. fol.136

Let

The Contents.

Let no man giue credit to the promiſes and ſafegard or aſſurance of a cruell man, deſirous to raigne and gouerne. Chap.54.f.138

It is a pernicious thing to a Prince to haue two Captaines generall in the warres, which ſtriue for preheminence, or betweene whom is enuie and emulation. Chap.55.f.140

No man ought to giue credit to the words and promiſes of fugitiues and runnawaies: for who ſo repoſeth truſt in them, without being firſt well aſcertained of them, committeth a great error. Chap.56.f.143

One onelie worde, beeing miſunderſtoode, may breede great hurt. Chap.57.fol.145

Who ſo will impart vnto his ſeruant any thing which may concerne his life, or honour, muſt reſolue with himſelfe neuer after to diſpleaſe him. Chap.58.fol.146

It hath alwaies bin held for a thing blame worthie to vaunt and boaſt by word, or writing, and he greatly erreth who promiſeth to himſelfe any certaintie of a doubtfull enemie. Chap.59.f.149

Which may be conſidered and learned here by the Lords of Venice, who would not ſuffer a gentleman of theirs, to kill Lewes Sforce *Duke of Milan.* Chap.60.fol.152

In time of warre it is not good to reſolue to hold places ill and hard to be kept, and to ſtop paſſages. Chap.61.f.154

How much it auaileth for a Captaine to know in what ſtate his enemie is in. Chap.62.f.156

Spies are neceſſarie for Princes and Captaines of Armies, and in what ſort a man ought to carrie himſelfe with them. Chap.63.f.159

Sundrie Captaines haue obtained very great victories in the warres, with very little loſſe of their troupes and ſouldiers. Chap.64.f.162

Words vttered without conſideration, haue beene the occaſion of much euill, as well to them who ſpoke them, as to others. Chap.65.f.165

Who ſo doth euill, or offendeth another in ſecret, thinking that it ſhall not bee knowne, he is often deceiued, and feeleth the paine thereof. Chap.66. fol.169

It ill beſeemeth a Prince, or great Captaine to ſay; In trueth I had not thought it, and that enterprizes put in execution ought not be grounded vpon vaine and deceiuing hopes. Chap.67.fol.173

To denie ſome requeſts to him to whom a man in ſome ſort is bound, doth not therefore yeeld a man ingratefull, although by the aide and aſſiſtance of the demaunder, hee hath attained vnto ſome great dignitie. Chap.68. fol.175

The Contents.

A good counſell, tending to the profit of the Prince or Commonwealth, ought not to bee concealed, for feare that it bee not put in execution. *Chap.69.f.177*

Promiſes voluntarily made, ought to bee held and perfourmed, and the euill which enſueth through default thereof. *Chap.70.f.179*

In what caſe promiſes exacted by force, ought to bee perfourmed. *Chap.71.f.180*

When a Generall or Commaunder in chiefe, too much doubteth his enemie, and too much diſtruſteth his owne forces, hee can neuer effect any laudable enterpriſe. *Chap.72.f.183*

Princes ought to giue no charge to couetous men. *Chap 73.f.186*

Princes ought to ſuffer their ſeruants and familiars to grow rich, ſo as it be not by diſhoneſt meanes. *Chap.74.f.188*

It is very dangerous to let ſlip time, and not to execute what is determined and reſolued vpon, principally in the warres. *Chap.75.f.189*

Thoſe Princes which make no reckoning of their Generals, which ſerue them faithfully, but giue them occaſion to leaue their pay and ſeruice, commit great faults. *Chap.76.f.192*

A priuate Captaine, ſeruing a Prince or Generall, ought not to receiue any preſent or gift from any other Prince or Generall, enemie to his Lord and Maſter. *Chap.77.f.196*

When an Ambaſſadour ſpeaketh otherwiſe then as his Maſter, he deſerueth to be had in deriſion. *Chap.78.f.197*

When an Ambaſſadour ſo handleth his Maſters buſines, that it is at the point to bee mockt and laughed at, hee cannot auoide to beare blame. *Chap.79.f.199*

When a Rebell or a baniſhed man is pardoned, and by his Princes grace and fauour permitted to returne into his countrey, hee ought not to doubt of the faith of his Prince. *Chap.80.f.201*

How that man ought to beare himſelfe, to whom is denied the grace deſired of his Prince. *Chap.81.f.203*

That Captaine who leaueth a ſtrong place ill guarded, to take or ſurpriſe another, maketh a fault. *Chap.82.f.205*

Curteſies may be vſed betweene enemie and enemie, without deſeruing blame of either ſide. *Chap.83.f.207*

It is a very dangerous thing to tell Princes their faults & imperfections, although that at ſometimes it be very neceſſarie to do ſo. *Chap.84.f.209*

It is a moſt notable follie to entermeddle with enterprizes without conſideration, principally in the warres. *Chap.85.f.214*

It

The Contents.

It auaileth more to prouide according to the aduertiſements and rumours of daungerous accidents, which may annoy a Prince and Common-wealth, then to make no account thereof. Chap.86.f.214

Innocencie and a cleere conſcience make a man bold and hardy, giuing him heart and courage to ſhew himſelfe in all places and before all perſons. Chap.87.f.216

Ill ſpeeches and backbitings ought not draw a man to doe any thing againſt reaſon and iudgement, eſpecially in the warres. Chap.88.f.218

To deſpiſe, raile at, and backbite any man, breedeth hatred againſt him that vſeth it, who ſeldome eſcapeth vnpuniſhed. Chap.89.f.220

That Princes ought to puniſh backbiters, and in no caſe to endure them. Chap.90.222

An innocent man accuſed of ſome great fault, ought not to ſet himſelfe vpon triall of incertaine proofes, which happen vnto him otherwiſe then hee thought. Chap.91.f.225

The inward familiars and Secretaries of Princes may commit many errors, by meanes whereof they are in daunger of their Princes fauour and their owne liues. Chap.92.f.228

It is a great honour and profit to a Captaine ſometimes to yeeld and conſent to the deſire of his ſouldiers, thereby to maintaine and hold himſelfe in the loue and friendſhip of his ſouldiers. Chap.93.f.230

It is a thing blame worthie in all men to be noted for inconſtant and light headed, which in a Captaine is held for a moſt notable vice. Chap.94.f.232

A Generall or Commaunder in chiefe, ought not to be touched in his honour and reputation, principally by thoſe who made choiſe of him, and during the time that he is in Armes. Chap.95.f.235

It is both honourable and profitable to treate of peace between thoſe which are in warres. Chap.96.f.237

He which goeth into another countrie with charge of importance, ought to frame himſelfe to the faſhions of the countrey wherein he is: for to liue after the cuſtome of his owne countrie is not euery where good. Chap.97.f.239

It is a great ſhame, and a thing very diſhoneſt, to doe wrong and iniurie to ſtrangers. Chap.98.f.243

The vice of ingratitude is worthie of blame in all manner perſons. Chap.99.f.248

The end of the Table of the Chapters.

CIVIL CONSIDERATIONS VPON MANY AND SVNDRIE HISTORIES, AS WELL ancient as moderne, and principally vpon those of *Guicciardin.*

CHAP. I.

The aduiſe and counſell of great Princes ought not to be neglected but well noted, chiefly when the Princes are friends.

CForaſmuch as the cuſtome of good and wiſe Princes is not only to be vigilant concerning their owne eſtates, but carefully to ſeeke to know what is done in the dominion of others, and chiefly of their next neighbours; when it happeneth that a Prince commeth to the knowledge of ſome matter which may preiudice his neighbour, and as a friend doth giue him to vnderſtand thereof, he which is aduertiſed, ought not to neglect the curteſie, but prouide for his affaires, and to employ himſelfe in that which may ſerue beſt for his purpoſe, and indeuour
D to auer the aduertiſement giuen: for a man cannot be ſo wiſe, nor ſo circumſpect, that he be able to foreſee euery thing, & cannot know ſo much, but that another may know more than he: and it is to be beleeued that a Prince which hath great eſtates, riches, and intelligence in many countries, may know more ſecrets, than he which hath leſſe. Euery man knoweth that the ſtate of Florence, is neere vnto that of Siena, (although that now, all is but one) and by how much the one was greater than the other, and by how much the Duke of Florence was more puiſſant than the Common-wealth of Siena: ſo conſequently he might haue better meanes to know ſe-

crets, than he which gouerned that Common-wealth. *Don Diego* of Mendozza was gouernour of Siena, in the name of, and for the Emperour *Charles* the fift, and this Gouernour with his garriſon of Spaniards, which hee had with him, bare himſelfe in ſuch ſort, that the Sienois vnable any longer to endure their inſolencie, reſolued to chaſe them from thence, and yeeld themſelues ſubiects to the King of France, *Henry* the ſecond of that name: and this matter was hotly managed, and purſued by ſuch men as were moſt affected to the French. This, notwithſtanding that it was carried very ſecretly, came to the knowledge of the Duke of Florence, as to him who tooke carefull heede, and vigilant care, for his owne eſtate, and the Emperours, which was his neighbour: and gaue aduertiſement thereof to *Don Diego*, who either for his boaſting vaine-glorie, or for that hee eſteeming himſelfe more, then indeed hee was, made no account of this aduertiſement, neither gaue credit thereto, but very proudly anſwered him, that the Emperour had giuen him the charge and gouernment of the ſtate of Siena, and that hee well knew how to gouerne it without his ayde or counſell: and therefore that hee ſhould take care for his owne eſtate of Florence. *Mendozza* making no reckoning of the kinde and louing aduertiſement of the Duke, applied himſelfe with his Spaniards to liue, after the accuſtomed manner, daily gaulling the hearts of the Sienois, which taking occaſion through the abſence of *Don Diego*, who, about certaine his buſines and affaires, was gone to Rome, executing their deſſeignes, ſlewe ſundrie of the Spaniards, and ſhut vp the reſt, perforce within their Fortreſſe, and diſplayed the Enſignes of France. The reuolt of Siena was ſignified to *Don Diego* beeing at Rome, who came preſentlie in poſt to Florence, to deſire counſell and ayde of the Duke: But *Coſmo* perceiuing that hee ſhould procure warre for himſelfe, if hee ſhould ſhew himſelfe an enemie to France, and remembring with what pride *Mendozza* had deſpiſed his aduertiſement, anſwered him very wiſely, that hee would now follow his Counſell, and bee carefull and vigilant to rule and gouerne his owne eſtate of Florence, without otherwiſe in any ſort, to trouble himſelfe about the affaires of Siena, whereof the Emperour had giuen him the charge and gouernment. Doe not mocke then at the aduertiſements of great Princes, for it may poſſiblie be that they knowe that which others knowe not, and it is better to ſeeme to regarde it, than fooliſhly,

Don Diego de Mendozza made no account of the Duke of Florence, when he gaue him to vnderſtand of the rebellion and reuolt of the Citie of Siena.

The ſubtill anſwere of the Duke of Florence, to Don Diego *de* Mendozza, *Gouernour of Siena.*

A fooliſhly, and proudelie to deſpiſe it. For if *Mendozza* had well noted the aduertiſements of Duke *Coſmo*, hee might haue found remedie ſufficient for the reuolt, and to haue incountred with that which followed: and though that hee could not haue letted the conſpiracie; yet hee might haue beene able to haue reſiſted the force thereof, with the helpe of the ſuccours neere at hand. And finallie, the vaine boaſting of *Mendozza* was well knowne, and that hee alone was not a man to reſiſt ſo great an inconuenience, as afterwards followed in the Citie of Siena; and a man
B may ſee how great hurt hee did, in that hee eſteemed not the aduiſe of ſo wiſe a Prince, and ſo well affected to the Emperours proceedings.

CHAP. 2.

C *That it is very dangerous to be gouerned by the ſame example, without the ſame reaſon, and the ſame fortune.*

CHarles the 8. King of France, being come into Italie, at the inſtance & procurement of *Lewes* Duke of Milan, for the conqueſt of Naples, againſt thoſe of Arragõ, the French army grew to be ſo terrible in Italie, that they were all afraid thereof: and for that the French in their iourney towards Naples determined to paſſe through Tuſcane, particularly becauſe of the
D Seignorie of Florence, the King ſought by all meanes to draw the Florentines to his friendſhip: whereunto a great part of the citie, as well of the nobilitie as of the Communaltie, was very much inclined, the better to be freed from the preſent danger. But *Peter de Medicis*, who then with great authoritie managed the affaires of the Florentine Common-wealth, perſeuering firme in the amitie of the houſe of Arragon, would giue no eare to the Kings demaunds: who requiring paſſage, offered many faire conditions, if it might be graunted; and thereto added many threatnings, if it were denied. *Peter de Medicis* hereupon entertained the King with delaies, alleaging, that he could not giue any ſudden anſwere, for that the

chiefe Burgeſſes, and Citizens were at their farmes and poſſeſſions E
in the countrey: ſo as hoping for aide and ſuccour from the King of
Naples, and the Pope, he reſolued not to make any league with the
King of France, neither to giue him paſſage: wherefore the French
reſolued to take it perforce. And taking their way towards Pontro-
mili, they ſacked Finizan: and afterwards being in the way towards
Finizan ſacked by the French. Serezana, a place fortified by the Florentines, but not ſufficientlie to
withſtand ſo great forces, they would march no further, without ta-
king the firſt towne that ſhould oppoſe it ſelfe againſt them, which
was the occaſion that they were in great feare at Florence, & began
to ſpeake liberally againſt *Peter de Medicis*, blaming his obſtinacie, F
ſaying: that foraſmuch as hee would not yeeld to the aduice and
counſell of thoſe Citizens, who counſelled him well, but followed
the counſell of ſome proud hare-braind fellowes, hee had expoſed
his country to the danger which they all ſaw preſent, and had raiſed
a warre of great importance; ſo as he became hatefull to them all in
generall.

In this meane ſeaſon the French cõtinued the ſiege before Sereza-
na and Serezanell, & at the riuer of Magre they defeated *Paul Orſin*,
which came with certaine troupes of horſe & foot, to haue relieued
Serezana. Which *Peter de Medicis* vnderſtanding, & conſidering the G
diſcontentment of the citie within, & the danger of the war kindled
abroad; and ſeeing alſo that the ſuccours of the Arragonnois, and of
the Church came not, prickt forward with a ſudden deliberatiõ, de-
termined with himſelfe to ſeeke that ſuccour amongſt his enemies,
which he could not find amongſt his friends: in following the ex-
ample of *Laurence de Medicis* his father, who by the like manner of
proceeding with *Ferdinand* King of Naples, purchaſed publike ſafe-
tie to his countrie, & particular quiet to himſelfe; he thinking that it
would happen vnto him with the King of France, as it happened to
his father with the King of Naples: and ſo came to King *Charles*, H
who receiued & entertained him with better countenance thã with
good will, he conſigned vnto him Serezana, Serezanell, the fortreſ-
ſes of Piſa & Liuorne, and yeelded to the King all that he required.
Wherefore when he returned to Florence they could not abide the
Peter de Medicis *chaſed from his countrie.* ſight of him, & finally draue him out of the citie. From this doing of
Peter de Medicis, this aduice & counſell may be drawn, which *Guicci-
ardin* wiſely noteth, which is this: That it is a matter very dangerous
to follow the exãple of another, if a man in general or particular haue
not the ſame reaſon, the ſame wit, & the ſame fortune. Thẽ firſt I ſay,

that

A that although that humane actions ſeeme to be ſo ioyned and coupled together, that it ſeemeth that, that which now is preſent, hath been; and that which hath been, ought to be againe: yet notwithſtanding, the accidents which follow are ſo different and diuers, that no man whoſoeuer hee be (except very prudent) can alwayes gouerne himſelfe in matters preſent, by the example of that which is paſt. If *Peter de Medicis* had iuſtly balanced his reaſons, with thoſe of *Laurence* his father, he would not by ſo ſudden a determination, haue caſt himſelfe into his enemies armes.

Three things there ought to haue met and agreed in one, to haue
B cauſed his proceeding to come to the like iſſue, as his father *Laurence* his determination did: to wit, the reaſon, the wiſedome, and the fortune, which ought to haue been alike and the ſame. The reaſons which cauſed *Laurence* to take that courſe, were theſe: Firſt, he knew that he had at once to deale with two very mightie enemies, ſtrangers, the one of which was the Pope, the other the King of Naples: and knowing well that hee was not able to reſiſt any one of them alone, hee tooke this reſolution. For his enemies would haue neither truce, nor peace, nor league, or confederacie with him, but would abſolutely put him from his eſtate, and the one of them
C had alreadie ſought to bereaue him of his life. Secondly, he conſidered that Florence was a free Citie, and much accuſtomed to ſpeake euill; by reaſon whereof, in publike meetings and aſſemblies abroad, and in their particular houſes at home, they ſpake euill of him; and he further knew well, that his gouernment could not long continue, ſeeing the Citizens and Burgeſſes did ſo much enuy and malice the glorie of his reputation. Thirdly, he well knew that their chamber of accounts and treaſure of the eſtate was well waſted, and little money remained, ſo as he muſt haue publike *ayd* and particular mens money to defray the charge of the warre, which
D could not long continue. And fourthly, hee conſidered that this warre began to be tedious and irkſome to his friends: for that it ſeemed that it was not vndertaken for the defence of the publike libertie, but rather to maintaine the reputation of one man alone. Fiftly, he knew that Pope *Sixtus*, and King *Ferdinand*, had giuen the Florentines to vnderſtand, that they had begun this warre, not to the end to depriue or bereaue them of their publike libertie, but to free them from their tyrant, and to ſet them at libertie, ſo as they might be ruled and gouerned, as free men, without depending of the will and pleaſure of one man alone: which did greatly encreaſe their

Comparison betweene the manner of proceeding of Peter de Medicis with the King of France, and of Laurence de Medicis *with* Alphonſe *king of Naples.*

hatred againſt him. The ſixt reaſon was, that hee conſidered that E
Guicciar.lib.1 there was a moſt cruell plague in the citie: ſo as the gentlemen could not abide in the citie, becauſe of the plague; neither could they goe to their houſes and poſſeſſions in the countrie, by meanes of the warres: and therefore they neither could nor would long endure this diſcommoditie for his ſake, neither loſe their liues and goods to maintaine his reputation and greatnes. The ſeuenth reaſon was, that his hope failed him in the ſuccour of ſtrangers, which conſiſted in the league: for the ſtate of Milan was euen tired through the gouernment of a childe, and of a woman; and by reaſon of the diſagreement of the brethrens forces, and chiefly for that F
the Venetians, who were the other foundation and chiefe ſtring of his hope, louing better to lie aloofe off, then to be too buſie in entermedling in this warre, were not reſolued to ſend him any ſuccours at his neede.

Behold the reaſons which moued *Laurence*, wherein he ſhewed his wit, who conſulting with himſelfe, and the greatnes of his courage, tooke the benefit of the time. For winter being come, he procured and obtained truce for two moneths: and during that time, he acquired and wonne to him the loue and good will of King *Ferdinand*, to whom he wrote, that truſting in his owne innocencie, he G
would come vnto him, and leaue the difference and controuerſie to his iudgement and diſcretion, hoping to ſatisfie him in all that ſhould be reaſon. See his wit, concerning his affaires abroad: and as for his buſines at home, he choſe Magiſtrates, Senatours and officers, ſuch as hee truſted and knew to be well affected vnto him: hee committed the gouernment of the State to *Thomas Soderini*, a man of great account, and dealt ſo warily, that for pledge and aſſurance of his faith, hauing with ripe iudgement prouided for all things elſe, he took *Soderini* his ſonne with him to Naples, where he found
Laurence de Medicis *reconciled to* Alphonſe *King of Naples.*
Fortune very fauourable and gracious vnto him. For notwithſtan- H
ding that *Laurence* his enemies ſolicited the King to put him to death, yet hee held his word with him, and receiued him royally: and after that hee had heard him in priuate, marueiling at the highnes of his ſtomacke, and his great wiſedome and experience in ciuill and militarie affayres, hee made peace and a league with him, and ſent him backe againe to Florence, with greater honour and reputation, then he had at his comming from thence. His ſonne *Peter* to the contrarie had not the like reaſon, neither did he ſhew the like wit, neither had he the like fauourable fortune: for he would obſtinately

A nately perſeuere in the league with the Arragonnois, againſt *Charles* the eyght, at the perſwaſion of ſome his fauourites, who were men of no experience in the wars, and ſcorned the league with the King of France; from whoſe houſe, the houſe of *Medicis* had receiued many fauours; nothing conſidering that of himſelfe hee was a moſt mightie Prince, and ſupported with great forces in Italie; hee did nothing conſider that King *Charles* fought for his own intereſt, and not at the inſtigation of others, as King *Ferdinand* did; neither that his citizens, being inclined and affectioned to the French, were much diſpleaſed, ſo to be reſiſted; hee perceiued not the danger, but
B euen then when he with his countrie was lapt and entangled therein; he alſo vſed not the like policie: for he conſidered not that King *Charles* had alreadie taken footing in Italie, and had gotten ſundrie victories, who making way for his paſſage, would leaue no enemie behinde him, neither would hee in any thing yeeld vnto him, but went to his angrie enemie, being yet in a chafe, for the new iniurie lately receiued, and would (according to the common ſaying) doe a thing impoſſible, to wit, take a veſſell boyling from the fire, and coole it at an inſtant. Neither did he wiſely gouerne himſelfe, concerning the affaires within the Citie: for he left not the rule there-
C of with thoſe who were his friends and well affected vnto him, neither did hee communicate his determination with thoſe, who were able to giue him good counſell, neither did aſſure to himſelfe the holding of his authoritie: but truſting onely to himſelfe, and gouerning all after his owne phantaſie, he tooke his iourney. Wherefore being ill aduiſed, he ſuddenly put himſelfe into his angrie enemies hands, where fortune likewiſe forſooke him: for he was conſtrained to grant vnto the King all that hee demaunded, which was exceſſiue and without meaſure, and that he ſhould binde the Citie to that, which was impoſſible for him to ſatisfie and effect: and ſo
D with very ſmall reputation hee returned to his countrie, which being incenſed againſt him, baniſhed him. *Guicciardin* doth wiſely relate this matter, and withall giueth this aduice, ſaying: That it is a very dangerous matter for a man to gouerne himſelfe by the example of another man, if the like occurrences concurre not.

The ouerſight of Peter de Medicis.

CHAP. 3.

Whether it be lawfull in any occaſion to forget good turnes receiued, and to ſhew forgetfulnes towards the benefactor.

EVery man ordinarily blameth the little acknowledgement, which men vſe, now adaies, towards their benefactors: and truely whoſoeuer doth malitiouſly ſhew himſelfe ingratefull, doth worthily deſerue grieuous reproach: yet notwithſtanding ſome there are, who not of their owne will, but induced by ſome preſent neceſſitie, are conſtrained, to ſhew themſelues ſmally thankfull towards thoſe which haue done them pleaſure, knowing that they cannot deliuer their benefactors from ſome imminent daunger, without entring thereinto themſelues, and therein, with them to abide and periſh; loue rather to leaue their benefactor alone, then with him to be vndone. Which they doe, to the end that they would not loſe that which they haue receiued, but to preſerue and keepe that which they ſhould be in danger to loſe, vnwilling to follow the ill fortune of him, who hath done them pleaſure. *Guicchardin* treateth of two memorable examples, of little acknowledgement, the one of the *Vrſins*, the other of the *Colonnois*, the one happened when King *Charles* the eight of France entred Italie, the other when he departed thence. *Virginio Vrſin* had receiued great pleaſures from the houſe of Arragon (and to vſe the words of the author) he was bound and tyed by many bands of faith, dutie, honour, and neerenes of blood, being generall of the Army royall, high Conſtable of the Kingdome of Naples, and owner and poſſeſſor of many eſtates in that Kingdome: notwithſtanding all this, ſeeing it was not in his power to ſaue the King his benefactor; neither to warrant him againſt the victorious armies of France, and finding it not expedient to come to ruine with him, to the great meruaile of the French themſelues, conſented that his Sonnes ſhould compound with the French, and ſerue the

F

G

H

Virginio Orſin ſent his ſonnes to ſerue the French.

A the King of France. Wherefore it may well be ſaid that *Virginio* did this through extreme neceſſitie and bitter griefe of heart: the proper intereſts being of ſuch nature, that they cauſe pleaſures receiued, to be forgotten, how great ſoeuer they were: by reaſon whereof it may be ſaid, that if the little acknowledgement or ingratitude of *Vrſin* was not lawfull; yet neuertheleſſe it was excuſable. The other example was of *Proſpero* and *Fabritio Colonna*, who hauing ſhewed great proweſſe, and done many feates of armes, for the King of France in the conqueſt of Naples, and were much honored by that King, and receiued of him many benefits: yet neuer-
B theleſſe when the French power began to decline in Italie, after the ſeruice of Tare, *Proſpero* and *Fabritio*, conſidering that *Charles* going into France, could not maintaine them in the eſtates which he had giuen them, and that *Ferdinand* his great enemie, began to haue the better hand in the warres of Naples, conſtrained likewiſe by neceſſitie and through deſire to continue in their eſtates, concluded an agreement with *Ferdinand*, and comming to his ſeruice, holpe him to recouer againe that eſtate which a little before, they ſought by all meanes to make him to leeſe. They are likewiſe excu-
C ſed for departing from the French Kings ſeruice, for as much as *Virginio Vrſin*, and the Countie *de Petiglian*, without any deſert were highly cheriſhed, and much made of by the King, whereat being grieued, as at an iniurie receiued, they forſooke his ſeruice, and ſerued King *Ferdinand*: wherefore if the ingratitude of the *Colonnois*, to the Crowne of France were not lawfull; yet it was in ſome ſort excuſable, ſeeing that ordinarilie, an iniurie hath greater power in our hearts, then a pleaſure or a good turne receiued; and he which doth an iniurie or wrong, through neceſſitie, is farre more excuſable, then he who doth it willingly, for ſuch a one can neuer yeelde any ſufficient excuſe.

Guicciar. lib. 2 *Proſpero and Fabritio Colunna returne to the ſeruice of Ferdinand King of Naples.*

CHAP.

CHAP. 4.

He who by himſelfe or another beginneth any dangerous enterpriſe, without conſideration of the end, bringeth both himſelfe and others into danger, and is often conſtrained to do things little to his Honour.

ONe of the moſt principall parts that are in a wiſe man, yea the firſt and the greateſt is, to conſider the end and iſſue of any enterpriſe, which as well in the beginning, as in the purſute and end thereof, may be very dangerous, as well for him which doth it, as for thoſe which are by him perſwaded to be a partie, and with him to enter into the action. For thoſe which before hand conſider not of the end, weighing and balancing the ſame with good aduiſe and counſell, neither taking any care or regard, vntill the laſt harme and danger that may happen, ought not to meruaile, if afterwards to their great dommage, blame and ſhame, they be conſtrained to doe ſome thing very little for their honour: and whoſoeuer to pleaſe his preſent humour, and to doe that which commeth into his fantaſie, vndertaketh ſuch an exploite, without hauing regard vnto the good which he might foreſee if he followed the rules of reaſon, and by foreſight might embrace certainely, ſheweth himſelfe vnwiſe. And as for him, who by perſwaſions and allurements ſeeketh to draw another into ſuch an action, if he who is ſo perſwaded to intermeddle therein, haue not the ſame conſideration, a man may well ſay, that one blind man leadeth another vntill both fall into the ditch, and are conſtrained in the end, the one to loſe his reputation and honour, another his goods and his meanes, another his eſtate and dignitie, and another his life. It is true that it may ſeeme impoſſible to be able to diſcouer and foreſee the laſt loſſe and perill which may happen in a dangerous enterpriſe: yet neuertheleſſe to conſider of the generall harmes and moſt neere vnto the laſt ruine and deſtruction, ſeemeth

not

A not very hard and difficill to him, who hath (although neuer ſo little) experience, in the affaires of the world, and eſpecially in the wars. For who ſo feeleth and knoweth himſelfe able and ſufficient, to begin ſuch an enterpriſe, and to ſupport and maintaine the ſame; may boldly vndertake it: but hee who knoweth himſelfe inſufficient, ought not to enter into any ſuch action, neither to be perſwaded or inticed thereunto, by thoſe which take pleaſure aloofe off, to ſee other mens tragedies, which ſometimes perſwade and exhort one man, to doe another man a miſchiefe, little knowing what wrong they doe therein, and afterward repent them of their for-
B mer ſayings, when they are conſtrained to thinke better of their fault, when it is too late and paſt remedy. One of the reaſons (as ſaith *Guicciardin*) which moued Pope *Alexander* the ſixt, not to accord and agree with *Charles* the eight, King of France, when he with his victorious armie ouerranne the territorie of Rome, was this: That he remembred himſelfe to haue bin one of the firſt, which by all meanes incited and procured the French King to the enterpriſe of Naples, and afterward without any occaſion, with all hoſtilitie, he reſiſted him, imploying therein both authoritie, counſell and armes: which proceeded of no other thing, then through want of
C foreſight and conſideration of the euils and harmes that might ariſe, through the paſſage of ſo mightie a Kings armie, through the middeſt of his Countrey; going to execute that enterpriſe, which by his inſtignation was vndertaken; the execution whereof could not be effected without ſome diſcommoditie and trouble vnto him. *Lewes Sforce* was led by the like inconſideration, who would with all poſt-haſt ſatisfie his owne will and humour which he had to rule: and to bereaue his Nephew of his eſtate, he called the French into Italie, and when he perceiued his fault, and could not remedie it, and had well conſidered in the end, that which he
D ſhould haue foreſeene and conſidered in the beginning; this vnwiſe and vnaduiſed Prince loſt miſerably both his eſtate and his life: a thing which will euer happen vnto thoſe men, which without conſidering the laſt end, begin and vndertake, or cauſe to be begun and vndertaken enterpriſes of great danger.

Let not him which is not of power ſufficient, attempt enterpriſes which he cannot maintaine. Guicciar. lib. 2

CHAP.

CHAP. 5.

That the euill Genies or vncleane Spirits suffer themselues to be seene and heard by men, and haue appeared vnto sundry, foretelling them of many things to come.

F

I Would not willingly let passe without consideration this place of our author, where hee telleth of the appearing of the Spirit of *Ferdinand* to his Chirurgion, whose words are these: The report also is, (if it be lawfull altogether not to contemne such things) that the Spirit of *Ferdinand* did three seuerall nights appeare to *Iames*, the chiefe Chirurgion of the Court; and that first with fayre words, and afterwards with many threatnings, he charged him to say vnto *Alphonse* from him, that hee should not thinke, or account himselfe able to withstand the King of France: for that it was predestinated, that his race being tyred with infinit troubles and accidents, and being depriued of so excellent a kingdome, should at last be extinct, &c. Vpon which words I haue deemed and thought it fit to discouer and know, whether these apparitions be true and reall, or phantastick imaginations: whereof there is so good testimonie as well in holie Scripture, as prophane writers: so as it might seeme rashnes, and heresie, to affirme the contrarie. Secondly, it is said that Spirits are of two sorts, to wit, good and euill, and that both the one and the other appeare; the good are sent from God, and the wicked (by Gods permission) are forced by Magicke, and vnlawfull arts, to appeare and shew themselues, and sometimes shew themselues voluntarilie, as that which tempted our Sauiour Iesus Christ in the desart. The good Spirits, which are sent from God, are for the good and benefit of man: but those which are constrained through Magicke, are (for the most part) Ambassadours and messengers of euill. Thirdly, I say, that they appeare either in bodies taken and borrowed, or in dreames, to him that sleepeth, which is common aswell to the good as

Guiccciar. lib. 1

A Spirit appeared to Iames a Chirurgion in Ferrara of Ferdinand King of Naples.

Spirits are of two kindes.

G

H

A as the wicked; as the Angell of *Tobie*, who tooke a humane bodie; and that of *Saul* alſo, who by the meanes of the Enchantreſſe tooke the likenes of *Samuel*: for it ſeemeth that wicked Spirits haue this propertie, to ſhew themſelues in ſuch forme, as they deſire which ſee them: wherefore he appeared in the ſhape and likenes of *Samuel* to *Saul*, who deſired to ſee and ſpeake to *Samuel*; for the Scripture ſaith, that he knew him by his garment, and by his face. Moreouer, they appeare in diuers ſhapes, and moſt commonly monſtrous, fearefull and hideous, as may well be gathered out of ſundry hiſtories. *Plutarch* ſaith, that the euill *Genius* or *Dæmon*, of *Dion* of

A Spirit appeared to Saul in the likenes of Samuel.

Spirits appeare in diuers formes.

B Syracuſa, appeared vnto him in the likeneſſe of a woman clothed in blacke, ſweeping the houſe, the which did ſo much amaze him, lying alone, that he was much afraid. The *Genius* or *Dæmon* of *Brutus*, appeared to him in the forme of a horrible humane bodie, at his Tent or Pauillion doore, as *Appian Alexandrin*, and *Plutarch* doe both witneſſe: And to the Emperour *Iulianus Apoſtata*, a Spirit appeared in the likeneſſe of a leane pale-faced man, holding a horne of abundance in his hand, couered with a black cloath. They appeare alſo in dreames to thoſe which ſleepe, which is of the good; as wee reade of the ſpirit of *Ferdinand*, which appeared to his Chirurgion.

To what kind of men they appeare.

C Some are of opinion that they appeare to good and religious men, and to couragious wicked men, and to ſuch as certainly beleeue that there are ſuch. The wicked *Genius* appeare vnto holy and good men, as wee reade of many Saints: they appeare to valiant wicked men, as is ſaid of *Dion*, of *Brutus*, and *Iulianus Apoſtata*; the one of which ſhewed himſelfe an ouer-hardie and audacious freer of his countrie, the other was ingratefull and betrayed *Cæſar*; the third renounced Chriſt. They doe likewiſe ſhew themſelues to them, who beleeue that there are ſuch: for the Spirit which appeared to *Brutus*, did not appeare to *Caſsius*, who did not beleeue that there were any

D ſuch, for he was an Epicurian: and for that cauſe, when *Brutus* told him what he had ſeene, hee fell into a great laughter, and ſaid, it was but a melancholy humour. Fourthly, ſome ſay that they neuer prognoſticate but euill, which they doe either by voyce, by ſignes, or by doubtfull ſpeeches: by the voyce which is vnderſtood, they foretell the euill to come; as that which repreſented *Samuel*, who told *Saul* that his armie ſhould be ouerthrowne and put to flight, prognoſticating to him his own death, and the death of his ſonnes, and all that which happened vnto him in the Mount Gilboa. They foreſhew euill to come by ſignes, as that which appeared to *Dion*

in the ſhape of an vgly woman, which went vp and down the houſe with a beeſome: for a little after this viſion *Dion* was ſlaine through a conſpiracie, and a ſonne of his, which was then well growne, (in a melancholike humour) caſt himſelfe from the top of the houſe, and was ſlaine; and *Areta* his wife, and ſonne which was borne to him in priſon, *Ariſtomacha* his ſiſter, and *Ipparin* his nephew, were drowned in the ſea by *Iretas*, ſometimes a friend to *Dion*. And ſo the diuell foreſhewed vnto him, that death ſhould ſweepe his houſe, that is to ſay, ſhould extinguiſh his whole race. And by another contrarie ſigne hee foreſhewed vnto the Emperour *Iulianus* his death, when hee appeared vnto him, with a heauie countenance couered with blacke, which is the token of death. They prognoſticate alſo by doubtfull ſpeeches without reſolution, as it did to *Brutus*, when his *Dæmon* ſaid vnto him, I will ſee thee againe in the plaines at Philippos. And ſometimes by expreſſe and plaine words, as the Spirit of *Ferdinand* to his Chirurgion, who told him expreſſely of the loſſe of that kingdome, and that his great linage and race ſhould be extinct. This diſcourſe ſhall ſuffice for this place, which I accounted worthie to be conſidered of.

Farre in the third booke of the ſecond decade of the hiſtories of Spaine.

Chap. 6.

That it is a dangerous matter to ieſt and ſcoffe with men which are of valour, and (as ſome ſay) which haue their blood in their nayles.

THE ſmall conſideration which is ſometimes held in conuerſing with men, maketh ſome perſons to fall into errors, which they perceiue not vntill they are committed, and they beare the loſſe and diſhonour thereof: Of which number there are ſome which make profeſſion of laughing, ieſting and ſcoffing with others, nothing perceiuing when they doe it, that they are held for fooles for their labour, or elſe incurre certaine danger, which maketh them afterwards repent that euer they vſed ſuch ieſting. Ieſts ought not to paſſe, but betweene equall perſons, or ſuch

A ſuch as are neere eqûals,or ſometimes betweene the greater and his inferiour, or betweene the inferiour and the greater. When a ieſt paſſeth betweene perſons of equall qualitie, and ſeemeth rather a greeting, then a nipping,or dog-biting, it is tolerable,& there is no danger therein : as that of *Lewes Sforce*, with *Peter de Medicis : Peter* excuſing himſelfe for that hee did not meete *Lewes* to doe him honour vpon the way, becauſe that *Lewes* miſt of his way in going to the French armie, *Lewes* anſwered him very ſubtilly : It is true that one of vs was out of the way, but you peraduenture will be found to be that one which ſtrayed : but the iſſue of their buſineſſe did
B plainly ſhew,that both the one and the other went amiſſe,and held not the right way. And as for ſcoffes and ieſts,which paſſe between the principall and the inferiour, and that in preſence ; the greater is held for weake and ſimple,to ieſt and ſcoffe at his inferiour,who for the regard and reſpect of his authoritie,durſt not to ſpeake a word, which offendeth the hearers,who iudge that he would not vſe ſuch ſpeeches to his equall, or to a man of courage. This manner of ieſting and ſcoffing with inferiours, bringeth ſometimes daunger therewith : for that a man findeth ſome perſons,who although they be of low degree,yet are of noble minde, and will not endure the
C ſtinging of a flye, neither will they be toucht in their honour : and the broad ieſt bringing therewith alwaies a kinde of iniurie,and ſo conſequently a diminiſhing of reputation, which they can neither tolerate nor endure : and when the inferiour in degree, but equall in valour and courage,cannot anſwere him which girdeth him,neither then preſently bee reuenged, hee will attend time and place for reuenge : and ſometimes valour and courage is found in ſuch perſons,as a man would neuer haue thought,or beleeued there had been any ſuch matter,who in time and place haue been auenged of thoſe,which by gibing & ſcoffing iniuried them.*Scipio Naſica* brake
D a ieſt vpon an Artificer of Rome,asking him why his hands were ſo hard,and whether he went vpon his hands,as beaſts doe vpon their feete : the craftſman finding himſelfe toucht and wronged, complained to the common people, and brought *Scipio* into ſuch diſgrace, that when hee demaunded the Conſulſhip,the people withſtood him, and he could not obtaine what he deſired. *Penander* the Tyrant of Andracia, too hautily ſcoffing at a young man, which was of his houſehold, the young man was ſo enraged and wroth with the ſcoffe,that it did ſo waken his ſpirits and courage,that notſtanding that he was bred vp in his houſe,yet he bereaued him both

Guicciar. lib.

Scipio Naſica *odious to the Romane people.*

Penander *the Tyrant by one of his houſehold.*

of his life and eſtate. A man ought not to vſe to any man thoſe broad ieſts which are as dog-bitings, that is to ſay, which nip and offend too much, for that they are dangerous: but when they are gracious and well beſeemed, ſo as you are not therewith diſgraced or diſhonoured, they may be tolerated. Meane men ſometimes ieſt with great men, and this likewiſe is not without great daunger, eſpecially when the ieſt doth touch to the quick: for whether it be in word or writing, the iniurie ſtill remaineth, which the ſuperiour will not forget, if he be a man of any ſtomack. A condemned ſouldier being led towards the place of execution, before King *Antigonus*, who ſaw but with one eye, and as thoſe which led the ſouldier bad him to be of good cheere and to hope well, for that when hee ſhould come before the King, he might eaſily obtaine pardon: he with a ieſt anſwered pleaſantly; Nay then I am well, ſeeing that I may hope for grace when I come before the eyes of King *Antigonus*. This ieſt of the ſouldier was reported to the King, who tooke it in ill part, and cauſed him to be executed. *Peter Aretin* would needes ieſt at the Lord *Peter Strozzi*, when hee gaue Marano to the Venetians, and made him a ſong which began thus: *Meutre il gran Strozzi: Arma virumq; cano, &c.* But the Lord *Peter*, as a valiant and noble perſonage, who could brooke no ſuch ieſts, made him to know that it were fitter for him to buſie himſelfe about other matters, and that hee would make him to be ſlaine euen in his bed. Wherefore poore *Aretin* knowing that the Lord *Peter* was a perſonage readier to ſtrike then to ſpeake, was ſo amazed, that hee ſhut himſelfe vp in his houſe, ſuffering no man to come in; and being in continual feare to be poyniarded, he led a moſt heauie and infortunate life: for ſo long as the Lord *Strozzi* made his abode in the Venetians countrie, he neuer durſt to come forth at his doores. A man might produce a number of examples of thoſe, which for ieſting at great men haue been in ill taking. It cannot be excuſed, to ſay that a man may ieſt with his friends, but herein the friend ſhall haue occaſion to complaine for two cauſes: to wit, for the little regard whereupon the ieſt is grounded, and for the friendſhip whereof pleaſure and delight ſhould ariſe, and not ſadnes of mind. Thoſe which feare no reuenge, may well ieſt and ſcoffe with others, as did *Ferdinand* King of Naples with his father *Alphonſo*, who was old and ſicke: hee nipt him extreamly, ſo as a man might well ſay, that that manner of ieſting was ſuch, as men vſe with thoſe which are held for men of ſmall courage.

A pleaſant dangerous ieſt of a ſouldier.

Ferdinand

A *Ferdinand,* after that the King of France was departed Italie, recouered the kingdome of Naples; and being with his father *Alphonſo* in Sicilie, *Alphonſo* was earneſt with him to returne to Naples before hee died. But *Ferdinand* diſpleaſed with the requeſt of his father, anſwered him with a ſubtill and bitter ieſt: I am content, but ſtay, vntill I haue ſo aſſured the kingdome vnto you, that you neede not runne away from it any more. Behold the end, it is better for a man to hold his peace, then (to his danger and dãmage) to ſhew the quicke ſharpnes of his wit, for friends are grieued. Men of meane degree reuenge themſelues as they may, and Princes giue
B correction: and it ſhall not be amiſſe to obſerue and beare in mind this common Adage: Play with me, but hurt me not: and ieſt with me, but ſhame me not.

Guiccia. lib. 1

The bitter ieſt of Ferdinand with Alphonſe his father.

CHAP. 7.

C *VVhich may be well conſidered by the doings of* Lewes Sforce, *when he committed* Valencia *to the guard of* Donat Raffignin.

D MAns wit requireth that other mens doings ſhould ſerue for exahmple for vs to follow, and that we ſeeing what hath happened vnto others, may conſider what may betide our ſelues. Euery man without controlment confeſſeth, that treaſon is the greateſt miſchiefe and offence that a man can commit; and the greateſt infamie and diſhonour that can come to a man, is to be poynted at with the finger for a Traytor. Thence it commeth, that the temporall lawe is more ſharpe and ſeuere againſt Traytors, than any other malefactors; adiudging that no man can commit a greater and more heynous offence then treaſon: and as a man cannot expreſſe words ſufficient to blame it, ſo can there not be torment ſufficient to puniſh it. *Lewes Sforce,* Duke of Milan, did not conſider the treaſon of *Donat Raffignin,* who had betrayed *Iohn Galeas* his Nephew, and *Bonna* the Dutches, mother

of the said *Iohn Galeas*, in giuing vnto the said *Lewes* himselfe, a port of Tortona, wherewith (in behalfe of the young Duke and his mother) he was put in trust in time of his troubles, (making no lesse account of the treason, then of the Traytor) he committed to his charge the keeping of the Towne of Valencia, and put him in possession thereof, as gouernour and chiefe Captaine of that Towne. But *Donat*, who had not changed his nature, although he had changed his Master, (corrupted by the promises of *Iohn Iaques Triuulse*) deliuered the Fortresse of *Valencia* to the Frenchmen, enemies to *Lewes*, and receiued them into the Towne. This treason is the more worthy to be remembred, for that it happened in the same day, wherein twentie yeares before, the said *Donat* had betrayed the little Duke *Iohn Galeas*, and giuen the Towne of Tortona to *Lewes* his Vncle. Wherein a man may plainely see, that Traytors being mischieuous, retaine alwaies their wicked disposition; and therefore no man ought to trust them, when as they are once discouered for such: and whosoeuer doth repose trust in him, who hath once been a Traytor, although the treason were greatly to his profit, yet he committeth a great error; but he committeth a greater, who imployeth him in a gouernment and charge of importance.

Donat Raffignin, by treason yeeldeth the Fortresse of Valence to the French.

CHAP. 8.

It is a great fault in any man to giue himselfe to robbing and pilling, when he ought to fight; which hath been the occasion of the ill successe of many faire enterprises.

IN mine opinion there is nothing more fit to ouerthrowe an Armie, how great and well ordered soeuer it be, than the greedie couetonsnes of the Captaines, or the extreme rapine of Souldiers, who haue more desire to robbe and pill, than to fight: for leauing the first thought of true militia, which is victorie and honour, they turne to the second, which is the profit and spoyle; and remember not that whosoeuer is Master of the bodies, hath the goods also in possession, and at commande-

A commandement. I ſpeake now of the greedie coueteouſneſſe of the Captaines and Souldiours, which (when the victorie and the ſpoyle being to be ſeene both at one inſtant) are carried away more with the deſire of gaine then of honour. This auarice (I ſay) hath been the cauſe of the loſſe, of many faire enterpriſes: yea, it hath ſo corrupted, blinded, and confounded them, that thoſe Captaines and Souldiers, who haue cauſed the loſſe, (beſides the loſſe of their liues) haue purchaſed perpetuall diſhonour and infamie to their name and poſteritie: which is an euill very hardly to be remedied in the warres now adaies, which (if not wholy, yet for the moſt B part) is corrupted. It is then the cauſe of many euils, as thus: It hindereth the victorie, before the fight, and in the fight, it plucketh it out of their hands, and putteth them in danger to loſe what they haue newly gotten: whereof are moſt manifeſt examples. *Saxon* the Grammarian in the 1. book of his hiſtories of Denmark, knowing how dangerous the deſire of ſpoyle is, through the hindrance and let that it giueth to a manifeſt victorie, bringeth in the King of England for example, vſing theſe words to his ſouldiers, which hee perſwadeth to fight againſt the King of Denmarke, in this manner: *Ne fatigetis, milites, opum onere manus, prælio deſtinatas, ac ſcitote triumC phum, ante carpẽdum quam cenſum. Proinde auro ſpreto, auri Dominos inſequamini, nec æris ſed victoriæ, fulgorem miremini: meminiſſeq; vos decet, ſatius trophæum penſare, quàm quæſtum; potioremq; eſſe metallo, virtutem:* Which is to ſay: Doe not wearie and encomber with the burthen of riches, thoſe hands which are ordained to fight, and know that you ought to obtaine the victorie before the ſpoyle: and ſo (deſpiſing gold) purſue the owners of the gold, and fixe your eyes not in the brightnes of the gold, but in the glorie of the victorie: and it behooueth you alſo to know, that it more auaileth to purchaſe honour than profit, and that vertue is of more worth than mettall.

The greedines of Souldiours and Captaines hath been the loſſe of many faire enterpriſes.

Saxon the Grammarian in his firſt book of the affaires of Denmarke.

D This counſell was ill followed by the Engliſh ſouldiers, who had more deſire to pill and robbe, than to fight: whereof it followed, that they were all cut in pieces by the King of Denmarke, who charged thẽ while as they were lodẽ with pillage, which happened in this manner. *Phroton* King of Denmarke being landed in England, ſacked many places, and being loden with the riches of ſpoyle and bootie, tooke his way towards Scotland, to haue done as much there as he had done in England. The Engliſh being aduertiſed of the harme which the King of Denmarke had done in their Iland, and of their departure, the King of England therefore with a great

The greedines of the Engliſh ſouldiers.

armie followed him, with intent to giue him battaile, and by force E
of armes to take from him the pray which he had gotten. But *Phro-*
ton ſeeing his enemies neere at hand, and that the Engliſh and Scots
(alreadie in armes) did follow him, reſolued with himſelfe to aban-
don all the goods and treaſure, which hee had gotten in England,
and cauſed it to be caſt away, ſtrawing the gold, ſiluer, and other
goods of the Engliſh, abroad in the fields, thinking indeed that they
would ſtay to gather and heape the ſame together, and ſo being lo-
den hee would runne vpon them, and ouerthrow them. And not-
withſtanding that a certaine old Captaine did gainſay the counſell
and will of *Phroton*, alleaging that the ſouldiers would be very vn- F
willing to leaue that, which they had gotten with the perill of their
liues, and that it was againſt all reaſon to leaue that ſpoyle in pray to
an enemie, whoſe force as yet they had not ſeene: notwithſtanding
all this, by the generall aduice and opinion of all, the bootie was
left, and caſt abroad in diuers places of the fields, according to the
Kings commaundement. When the Engliſh came where their
goods and riches were diſperſt, and ſcattered abroad, the King com-
maunded that no man ſhould touch the ſame, but that they ſhould
purſue the enemie; whom, when they had ouercome, they ſhould
then haue time enough to recouer, and againe gather together the G
goods which they had loſt. But there was a Knight of the Brittons
amongſt them, which againſt the Kings commaundement, ſaid:
That it was no wiſedome, but a ſigne of great feare, to doubt to take
their owne goods, whereſoeuer they found them: and ſeeing that
the enemie of their owne accord did voluntarily forſake and aban-
don the bootie, which they would haue had by force and hazard of
their liues; for the recouerie thereof, hee found it not expedient,
with the price of their blood, and great daunger, to buy that, which
they might take and poſſeſſe in quiet, and peaceably for nothing.
The opinions of ſome other Knights were correſpõdent to the de- H
ſire of the moſt couetous ſouldiers, who, without obeying the com-
mandement either of King or Captaine, fell to gathering together
of their goods, which were ſpread abroad vpon the ground, and ſo
retired being loden and peſtered with bootie and ſpoyle. Which
Phroton vnderſtanding, turned head and followed them; and ha-
uing found them wearied and tired, no leſſe with the way, then
with the burthen of the ſpoyle, being much peſtered with the ca-
riage of ſo much baggage, he charged, and cut them in pieces, and
valiantly recouered that, which wiſely he had throwne away: and
the

A the Engliſh, louing better to tend to their pillage than to fight, loſt miſerablie both the bootie, the victorie, and their liues. *A notable ouerthrow of the Engliſh.*

The Venetian ſouldiers committed the like error in the yeere 1509. euen then, when almoſt al the Princes of Chriſtendome were vnited together againſt their Common-wealth: for the Venetian armie, led by *Bartelmy Liuiano*, hauing taken Treui, in the very beard of the enemies, amongſt which was the King of France in perſon, the ſouldiers gaue themſelues to ſack & pillaging; and whileſt they were buſie about their luggage, the Kings armie paſſed the riuer of Adde, without let or reſiſtance: for that the ſouldiers were ſo buſie
B in pillaging, that it was not poſſible, either by authoritie, or by their Captaines threatnings, to make them giue ouer the ſacking of the towne. And although that th'Aluian ſet the towne on fire, to the end to bring them to fight, yet was it too late: for the Kings armie hauing (at eaſe, and very commodiouſly) paſt the riuer, and hauing had leiſure to put themſelues in order, there followed the memorable feate of armes, of *Giara d' Adde*, wherein the Venetians (without queſtion) had been victors, if their ſouldiers, in ſtead of pillaging, would haue been brought to hinder and ſtop the paſſage of the French armie: for they had either ouerthrowne them and put
C them to flight, or elſe conſtrained them to fight without order, and at great diſaduantage, or to returne backe, which had giuen them cauſe of a moſt manifeſt and moſt noble victorie, which was taken out of their hands by their owne ſouldiers, who were ſo greedie that they rather loued to glut themſelues with luggage, than with honour and glorie; and ſuddenly after they loſt both the one and the other. By meanes of this diſcõmoditie of pillaging, many occaſions of victories are loſt, not onely before they come to ſtrokes, but euen in time of the battaile, which was ſeene in the Venetian armie, and of *Lewes Sforce*, and others in league together, in the memorable
D iourney of Tare, againſt *Charles* the 8. King of France: for the army of the League was ouerthrowne, or at leaſt had not the victorie, through the greedie couetouſnes of the Venetian aduenturers. For during the fight at the paſſage of Tare, the King willing to goe into France, and thoſe of the League to ſtop his paſſage, *Francis Gonzagua*, Marqueſſe of Mantoua and Generall of the armie of the League, had ſo well ordered euery thing, that the French armie was in ſome diſorder: ſo as they had had the victorie, if the greedie aduenturers (who ſaw the Kings carriages abandoned, by the aduice and counſell of *Triuulce*) had not began to runne to the ſpoyle: by *The greedines of the Italian ſouldiers.* *The greedines of the Stradiots.*

reaſon

reaſon whereof, the French taking the benefit of the occaſion, tooke E
heart, and began to make the armie of the League to retraite, which
they put to flight, with a very harmefull loſſe of many Captaines of
Italie, which were there either ſlaine or taken. And this ſo bloodie
an ouerthrow could not haue happened through any other acci-
dent then by pillaging, the Italian armie paſſing in number, and be-
ing equall in valour to the French: And ſo the paſſage ouer the ri-
uer, which was the point of honour for which they fought, was o-
pen. And to the end that the French ſhould not be led by the like
filthie auarice, and ſo let ſlip out of their hands ſo faire a victorie,
while they followed the chaſe of thoſe which fled before them, the F
one put the other in minde of the ſeruice at Guingaſt, a village in
Picardie, where, in the raigne of *Lewes* the 11. King of France, they
The ouerthrow of the French at Guingaſt in Picardie. loſt the day againſt *Maximilian* of Auſtrich, which afterwards
was Emperour, whom they had in a manner alreadie ouercome;
which is the third euill which riſeth through the greedie auarice of
the ſouldiers, to wit, to hazard the loſſe of a battaile alreadie wonne.
And in the like danger were theſe of Arragon neere Frangette, a
Caſtle in Puglia, in the time of *Charles* the 8. King of France, which
was, that the Arragonnois hauing taken the Caſtle of Frangette, the
ſouldiers gaue themſelues ſo greedily to ſacke and ſpoyle, that the G
authoritie of their Captaines auailed not to draw them from pilla-
ging, neither would they heare their commaund. At which time,
if the French had againe charged them, whileſt they were buſie a-
bout their pillage, they had (without all doubt) taken the victorie
out of their hands, which was the beginning of their declining, and
loſſe of their reputation in the kingdome of Naples. Let Captaines
endeuour to hold their ſouldiers in awe, and aduiſe them that the
end of the warre conſiſteth not in pillaging, but in the victorie, and
when the enemie is ouercome and vanquiſhed, their goods are ea-
ſily poſſeſſed, which they may eaſily enioy after the victorie, with- H
out feare or danger.

CHAP.

CHAP. 9.

Ambaſſadours of Princes ought not to ſhew themſelues baſhfull and vnfurniſhed, but valiantlie to accommodate themſelues to all occaſions that may happen.

B AMong the moſt principall, and moſt neceſſary poynts, which ought to be in the Ambaſſadour of a Prince or Common-wealth; this, in my opinion, ſeemeth to be one of the firſt, that he be a man of ſpirit and reſolution, to the end that in all occurrences, which haue not been foreſeen; he may know how to carrie himſelfe honourably, as well for his owne as for his Princes honour; ſo as it may redound to the honour of
C the one, and the contentment of the other. I ſay this, for that ſometimes ſome accidents happen, which the Prince with all his wiſedome could not foreſee, neither his Secretaries giue inſtruction for them; ſo as of force this reſolution muſt be taken therein, and this reſolution conſiſteth wholy in the valour of the Ambaſſadour: ſo as he which is ſoft ſpirited, and of no experience, is out of countenance, diſhonoured, or ſhamed; which diſgrace is more to the diſhonour of the Prince, than of the ſeruant. Which happeneth chiefely when a man hath to deale and negotiate with Princes, which eſteeme themſelues very ſharpe and fine witted, who take
D pleaſure to put others to paine and trouble, or (as we ſay) put them to their trumps. It was impoſſible that the Common-wealth of Florence, in the yeare 1496. (when they ſent their Ambaſſadours to *Maximilian* King of the Romanes) ſhould foreſee this accident, who left his aunſwere concerning the affaires betweene him and them, with the Popes Legate, and the Legate left it with the Duke of Milan: wherefore it was requiſite that the Florentine Ambaſſadours, which were fiue, ſhould take ſuch reſolution, that he might remaine with the mocke, who thought to haue mockt them. The caſe was this: The Venetians hauing taken Piſa into

their

their protection againſt the Florentines, which they valiantly de- E
fended: and the Florentines to the contrarie, employed all their forces to reconquer it. In this meane ſeaſon, the Emperour *Maximilian* came into Italie, and *Francis Sforce* perſwaded the Florentines to ioyne and enter into league with him, and to put the controuerſie to the Emperours iudgement, who vnderſtanding the diſcord betweene them and the Venetians, would be an vpright arbitrator in the cauſe. The Florentines anſwered, that they would ſtand to no arbiterment, but that they would firſt haue Piſa rendred into their poſſeſſion, as it had been theretofore. This was the occaſion why the Florentines ſent their Ambaſſadours to Gennes, F
where the Emperour then was, where the affaires hauing been debated, they attended the Emperours anſwere, which was this (as he was taking ſhipping in the hauen at Gennes) that the Popes Legate ſhould tell them what was needfull: The Florentine Ambaſſadours went to the Legate, who told them that the Duke of Milan ſhould declare vnto them the Emperours pleaſure at large: This was knowne at Florence, and how the matter paſt, where it was concluded, that the Ambaſſadours without attending any anſwere, ſhould returne home. In the meane ſeaſon, *Francis Sforce* glorying in his eloquence, and thinking to ſcoffe the Florentines, prepared a G
moſt faire hall, very richly furniſhed, to giue aunſwere to the Florentines in the behalfe of the Emperour, whither he had called all the Princes Amdaſſadours, which were with him at Milan to heare his anſwere. The Florentines at the houre appoynted, came thither, where they were willed to declare what they had to ſay: *Pepi*, to whom it appertained to ſpeake, ſayd, that they being with great trauell come from Gean to Milan, to returne to Florence, would willingly haue held their way, but ſtayed to take their leaue of him, and to doe him honour before they went out of his dominion, knowing him to be a Prince, which was their friend, who by his H
friendſhip did greatly vphold the ſtate of their Common-wealth.

Lewes More, *out of countenance, and mocked by the Florentine Ambaſſadours.*

The Duke anſwered them, that he was to giue them anſwere in the behalfe of the Emperour. The Ambaſſadour anſwered, that he had no commiſſion to heare it, neither any way to negotiate with him. By reaſon whereof, the Duke in a great chafe, ſent away the Ambaſſadours of Florence, and all the reſt which he had called thither, receiuing in himſelfe the greateſt part of the diſgrace, which he thought to haue vſed towards others. Let Ambaſſadours then be reſolute, and let them endeuour to be briefe,

and

and aduiſed in their aunſwers, for feare to bee mocked by the Princes, with whom they haue to negotiate; and that in all cauſes and accidents not foreſeene, they may be well reſolued, maintaining their owne reputation, and the honour of thoſe which ſent them.

CHAP. 10.

Betweene reconciled friends, the leaſt ſuſpition breedeth great diſtruſt, making them againe to become enemies.

ALthough there cannot be any ſo great enmitie, but that he which hath been an enemie, may againe become a good friend, euen as he which hath been a good friend, may become a great enemie: yet it is harder to tie together that which is broken, than to breake that which is firme and whole. Wherefore as euery little diſpleaſure and iniurie, may giue an ill taſte to a friend, and breake the bond of friendſhip: ſo afterwards many things are to be required, to conioyne and renew the ſame againe after it is once broken, which euer after beareth the name of reconciled friendſhip. And this reconciliation (of cuſtome) is as clay to broken pots: for as euery little knocke more eaſilie breaketh the veſſell where it was mended and ſodered, than where it is whole; euen ſo ſuſpition, although it be falſe. A ſhadow of an iniurie, and an imagination of diſcontentment, betweene reconciled friends, hath more power to breake the friendſhip, than the ciment of reconciliation, to hold the ſame linked and vnited together. For we often ſee among reconciled friends, that through the remembrance of offences paſt, and the ſuſpition of new, ſuch friendſhip doth not long endure, eſpecially if the enmities be of long continuance, and of great importance; betweene whom (to vſe the words of the Author) it is very hard to eſtabliſh any reconciliation that may be faithfull and firme. We haue hereof an example in *Antonel* and *Bernardin Sanſeuerin*, brothers, the one

A ſmall matter breaketh friendſhip, but much is required to reſtore it.

Antonel *and* Bernardin Sanſeuerin, *againe rebell againſt King* Ferdinand *vpon ſuſpition.*

Prince of Salern, and the other of Biſignan, moſt honourable and noble Lords of the Kingdome of Naples. *Bernardin* Prince of Biſignan, had wronged a Greeke in the perſon of his Wife: the Greeke diſſembling the wrong, attended time and place to be reuenged. In the meane ſeaſon, the warres aroſe in that Kingdome, betweene the King of France, and thoſe of the houſe of Arragon, in which warres, theſe two brethren with all their power, fauoured the French partie, and holpe to chaſe *Alphonſo* and *Ferdinand* out of that Kingdome: and after that King *Charles* returned into France, they continued in their friendſhip, ayding and ſuccouring the French againſt *Ferdinand* & *Federicque*, which reconquered the Countrey. In the end, the Arragonnois preuailing, the two Princes of Salern and Biſignan, reconciled themſelues to King *Federicque*: and vpon an euening, as the Prince of Biſignan came forth of the new Caſtle at Naples, he was very grieuouſlie wounded by the Greeke aforenamed: whereupon his brother *Antonel* Prince of Salern, amazed with this deede, grew in ſuſpition and feare that this was done by the Kings commaundement, in reuenge of offences paſt, and preſently without diſſembling the doubt, withdrew himſelfe to Salern. And notwithſtanding that King *Federicque* deliuered the Greeke priſoner into his hands, to content him, and thereby to aſcertaine him of his good will and of the fact, and how it happened; yet for all this, the Prince could neuer be perſwaded to repoſe truſt in him: and ſo againe becomming an enemie, he loued better to loſe his eſtate, than to liue neere to a reconciled friend in continuall ſuſpition and feare to loſe his life.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

It is an euill example in any Common-wealth to preſcribe Lawes, and not to obſerue the ſame, and principallie in thoſe who are the authors thereof, and doe not defend and maintaine thoſe Lawes againſt all ſuch as would infringe them.

B

CErtainelie it is a thing pernicious, and very ſcandalous in any Common-wealth, to make and publiſh a Lawe, and afterwards not to obſerue the ſame, principallie when thoſe who were the Lawmakers, care not to breake them, ſpeciallie in time of occaſion, neither to defend them againſt ſuch as reſiſt and impugne and miſconſter them: for

C who ſo is author of ſuch a Lawe, ſheweth himſelfe therein to be a man of little iudgement, and ſmall courage, and giueth men occaſion to thinke that he inuented that Lawe vpon ſome priuate fantaſie and conceite, and not that he held it expedient for the Comwealth. The Common-wealth of Florence hauing been reeſtabliſhed in the time of *Hieroſme Sauonarola*, by meanes of his helpe and the great credit which he had in the Citie, by reaſon of his orations; and hauing cauſed an ordinance and ſtatute to be made, for the ſecuritie and ſafetie of Gentlemen, who from the ſentence of the Magiſtracie of the Eight and of the Seignorie, giuen in matters of

The Lawe of appeale in Florence, introduced by Sauonarola.

D eſtate, might appeale to the people: but when occaſion required to put that Law in vſe, he did not cauſe it to be obſerued and maintained; notwithſtanding that to obtaine it, and to make it of force and auaileable, he had long laboured, by many perſwaſions, and exhortations, and in the end obtained the ſame. For a little while after, were condemned to death, by the ſentence of the Seignorie, for matters of ſtate, fiue Gentlemen, which fauoured the *de Medicis*, and the condemned appealing to the people, by vertue of the Lawe of appeale, could not be heard, and the matter was referred to ſome few of the Citizens, who were to decide whether the Lawe of ap-

peale ſhould continue in force or be repealed in matter of eſtate: E
but in concluſion, the condemned were ſpeedily executed, without giuing place to the Lawe, and had their heads ſtricken off. Which did ſo much cracke the credit and reputation of *Sauonarola*, that he could neuer after attaine to the credit which he had before: for he ſpake nothing in the defence of the Lawe which was made, and brought in by himſelfe: So as this grew greatly to his diſhonour, in that he perſwaded not his followers, and ſuch as were of his faction, to cauſe that Lawe to be obſerued, which he a little before had by many perſwaſions alleaged to be a moſt holy and holſome Lawe for the Common-wealth, and with ſo great vehemen- F
cie procured the eſtabliſhing thereof. This Father was much blamed and ill ſpoken of for the breaking of this Lawe: for if the appeale were profitable, as he before had often times affirmed, he ſhould with all his power and meanes haue maintained the ſame: if it were not profitable, he ſhould not haue taken ſuch paines to cauſe it to be authorized. And this accident was further noted, in that, that *Sauonarola* after the death of theſe fiue Gentlemen in any of his orations (although he made many) did neither accuſe, nor excuſe any of them, which were breakers of this Lawe: for he
blamed none, becauſe he would not be found contrarie to him- G
ſelfe, and he could not excuſe himſelfe, becauſe the matter was ſo manifeſt, and the refuſing to maintaine the Lawe, ſo notorious, that he was inexcuſable. Thoſe which haue diſcourſed of this matter, for example haue produced *Appius* and *Virginius*, two noble Romanes: but becauſe we will not ſpend long time in examples, it ſhall ſuffice to ſay that he which maketh and eſtabliſheth a Lawe, ought to obſerue and maintaine the ſame, notwithſtanding it were againſt his owne profit. And although there was at that time in Florence, queſtion of matter appertaining to eſtate, the people peraduenture would haue iudged the ſame, or altered the puniſhment, H
according to their diſcretion, it might haue ſufficed, ſo as the offence were puniſhed as worthie thereof, and the Lawe neuertheleſſe held inuiolable, as good and profitable.

CHAP.

CHAP. 13.

He which taketh more authoritie vpon him then belongeth to his degree and office, committeth an error, and ſeldome eſcapeth vnpuniſhed.

B EVery man, which by commiſſion from another taketh any charge, or being by a ſuperiour eſtabliſhed in the adminiſtration of any matter of importance, ought well to conſider that his authoritie is not ſoueraigne and abſolute, but dependeth of a ſuperiour: and therefore is reſtrained within certain limits, which he may not paſſe without error, and daunger to diſcontent his Superiour and to bee puniſhed, or to incurre the C diſhonour to be reputed a man raſh and preſumptuous. And although that to a Gouernour of a towne, or Generall of an armie, or to ſuch like perſons as haue publike charge, there is ſometimes giuen a very large commiſſion, with authoritie which ſeemeth free and abſolute: neuertheleſſe, wiſedome, and common experience teacheth, and warneth him which hath ſuch authoritie not ſo to vſe it, as though it were his owne, but ought alwaies to haue an eye to him, from whom he receiued the ſame, and to thinke with himſelfe, that at his diſcretion hee may take it from him againe, as occaſion ſhall be offered, and that hee muſt yeeld a reaſon, and giue account D of his charge, conſidering, that although he may doe any thing, yet it is not alwaies lawfull and expedient to do it. And when ſuch perſons are eſtabliſhed in managing of publike affaires, they ought by ſo much the more to vſe conſideration and regard, by how much the more it is daungerous and dammageable to doe the contrarie, and to adminiſter the affaires with abſolute authoritie according to their phantaſie. In ciuill affaires and gouernment of townes, ſubiect to a Prince or Common-wealth, whither are ordinarily ſent gentlemen of eſtate, appointed by the ſupreame Magiſtrate; when ſuch a gouernour will attribute vnto himſelfe greater authoritie

then is conuenient, and to proceede as abſolute, let him not doubt E
but that to his diſhonour hee will be ſequeſtred from his gouerne-
ment for ſome ſpace, if not for euer, in recompence of his little cir-
cumſpection, if peraduenture he eſcape vnpuniſhed, for example to
others: for this manner of proceeding giuing rather a certaine ſigne
of malice, raſhnes, or pride, then otherwiſe, doth put others in ſuſpi-
tion, and make himſelfe odious to the Common-wealth, whereof
hee is a citizen; or to the Prince who gaue him ſuch gouernment:
and by reaſon of this hatred and ſuſpition, he is oftentimes commit-
ted to perpetuall impriſonment, or baniſhed, or in ſome ſort depri-
ued of his life. F

Peter de Medicis, after the death of *Laurence* his father, hauing ob-
tained in the Florentine Common-wealth the ſame authoritie
which his father had, which was ſuch that all publike matters were
done by his counſell: he was at the creation of all Magiſtrates, and
euen by his conſent, and by his meanes, offices were beſtowed
vpon ſuch as by him were recommended. But *Peter* not content
with this authoritie, which his father held a long time with great
modeſtie, vſurped greater authoritie then his countrie would per-
mit. Wherefore, when *Charles* the 8. King of France went into Ita-
lie, to the conqueſt of the kingdome of Naples, *Peter* hauing reſol- G
ued to continue conſtant in the friendſhip of *Alphonſe* of Arragon
King of Naples, would neuer giue eare to the French King, who
deſiring to enter into league with him, and offered him many faire
conditions: to which league all the whole citie ſeemed to leane
and to yeeld, as inclined and well affected to the French nation. For
afterwards when the French armies began to haue the better in Ita-
lie, and the name of the French to be terrible, and the affaires of
thoſe of the houſe of Arragon to decline from ill to worſe; *Peter* re-
penting him of his reſolute determination, to aſſwage the wrath of
Charles, went to S. *Peters* to ſee and ſpeak with him in perſon: where H
being receiued by the King, with better countenance then good
will, the King made vnreaſonable demaunds; which were, that
preſently the Fortreſſes of Serezana, and Serezanell, which are
the keyes of the Florentine Seignorie, ſhould be giuen into his
hands, with the Fortreſſes of Liuorne and of Piſa: and that the Flo-
rentines (by his meanes) ſhould lend him 200000. Ducats, and vp-
on this condition hee would take them into his protection. *Peter*
yeelded to all theſe demands, and taking vpon him more authoritie
then he ought, yeelded the Holds and Fortreſſes aboue ſaid, with-
out

The demaunds of Charles the 8. King of France, made to Peter de Medicis.

CHAP. 12.

In our affaires and occurrences, We ought to ſettle and ground more truſt and aſſurance in him, Who expecteth good from vs, then in him, Who alreadie hath receiued the ſame.

B

GVicciardins counſell and aduice is moſt certaine, who ſaith, that more truſt is to be repoſed in him who ſtandeth in neede of vs, than in him who hath alreadie receiued pleaſure at our hands: for the deſire of the good to come, hath much more force in our hearts, than the remembrance of that which is already receiued. And here-hence it commeth, that when one man ſtandeth in neede of another, we ſee that the needie fol-
C loweth, intreateth, and importuneth him that is able to doe him pleaſure; ſo as he would doe any thing to haue what he deſireth: but after that he hath receiued it, he groweth careleſſe, and is not led with ſuch feruent affection; neither doth he court his benefactor as before he was wont: and his benefactor requiring any matter of importance at his hands, he is not ſo zealous in doing of him ſeruice, as before that he receiued his deſire, or during the time that he expected the ſame. Whence it followeth to be true, according to the common prouerbe, That more reckoning is made of one pleaſure to come, than of an hundred alreadie paſt: which doth plainely
D appeare in all kinde of men; for a man deſireth that which he hath not, and quickelie forgetteth that which he hath receiued already. The Duke *Valentine,* who effected and performed all his enterpriſes with much witte, and very cunninglie, and was very ſubtile in all his doings, had a determination to make himſelfe great, and to attempt great matters: but conſidering that his forces alone were not ſufficient to effect his deſſeignes, he began to thinke vpon forreine forces, to further him in that which he moſt deſired. And becauſe he could not greatly truſt in any of them which had receiued pleaſure at his hands, or from the Pope; he bent his mind on thoſe

More reckoning is made of one pleaſure to come, than of an hundred alreadie receiued.

The meanes and wiles of Duke Valentin *to make himſelfe great.*

which expected and hoped for ayde and ſuccour of him, and cunningly weighing with himſelfe, that the deſires of great Lords are extreame and reſtleſſe, and that to attaine thereto, they will not ſticke to attempt any thing be it neuer ſo great. Wherefore he addreſſed himſelfe vnto *Lewes* the 12. King of France, who would faine put away his firſt Wife, for that ſhe was both barren and ill fauoured, and deſired to marrie *Anne* Dutcheſſe of Brittaine, which was Wife to the King lately deceaſed: whereto might be added another great deſire of the ſaid King, to ſee the Lord of Amboiſe, Archbiſhop of Roane his greateſt fauourite, who had followed the King in all his fortunes, made a Cardinall, in all which matters and enterpriſes, (which could not be effected without the Guicciar. lib. 4 Popes diſpenſation and permiſſion:) The Duke *Valentine* went in perſon to the King, ſupported by this aduiſe and counſell, that a man may better hope for fauour and ayde from him, who expecteth a pleaſure, then of him who hath alreadie receiued a pleaſure, and carrying to the King a diſpenſation for a Marriage, and a red hat for the Archbiſhop, he obtained of the King, what he would deſire, who gaue him the title of Duke of Valence, and twentie thouſand Francques of reuenew: the conduct and leading of an hundred men at Armes, and with promiſe of ayde and aſſiſtance, to recouer to the Church, certaine Townes and holdes in the territorie of Rome, which the King perfourmed when he came into Italie. It might be ſaid, that the King of France had the ſame practiſe, ſeeing that Duke *Valentine* had neede of him, ſo as both the one and the other might be ledde with like conceite. Let a man then in time of neede, aſſure himſelfe more of him that deſireth, than of him that alreadie hath receiued a pleaſure: for he which deſireth is hot, and he who hath receiued what he deſired is cold, or at the moſt is but luke-warme.

E F G

CHAP-

A out the counſel of the citizens,without order from the Magiſtrates, and without giuing the Common-wealth to vnderſtand thereof. Which being vnderſtood at Florence,did ſo moue the harts of the people againſt him,that being returned to the Citie, hee was verie vnwelcome, and by the furie of the Citizens was driuen from the Pallace, and out of the Citie, and declared and proclaimed a Rebell.If in any caſe it be a matter doubtful,yea or very dangerous to paſſe the bounds of the authoritie receiued, and as a man may ſay, play the Prince,whereas is no neede,it is principally in charges and commaunds in the warres,where euery fact done in this manner by
B a Generall is ſufficient,to put ſuch iealouſie in the hearts of his ſuperiours,and make his truſt and faith ſo ſuſpect to the Prince, who gaue him ſuch charge,that he cannot be put from his gouernment, without preiudice of his reputation,and daunger of his life. *Paulo Vitellio,* a man moſt valorous,and in his time one of the chiefe and moſt renowned Captaines in Italie,being by the Florentines eſtabliſhed, and made Generall of their armie againſt the Piſans,in that time wherein they were vnder the ſauegard and protection of the Venetians, for one onely fact,wherein he vſurped more authoritie then belonged vnto him, put the Florentines in ſuch iealouſie and
C ſuſpition of him,that taking all his doings in ill part,in the end they bereued him of his life. This man being at Caſantin,againſt the Venetian armie,led by the Duke of Vrbin,*Bartelmy Liuiano, Aſtor Baglioni,*and other honourable Captaines, all which he did ſo valiantly reſiſt,that he did not onely ſtop the paſſage againſt them, but alſo beſieged them, with their principall Captaines,within Bibienna,a Caſtle of the Caſantin. The Duke of Vrbin fell ſicke in this ſiege,who deſired *Vitellio* to giue him a ſafeconduct to goe to take Phiſicke and to cure himſelfe: and this *Paul* vſurping a little too much authoritie,(without acquainting the Florentine Commiſ-
D ſioners herewith, who repreſented the ſtate of the Commonwealth) gaue ſafeconduct to the Duke,and to *Iulian de Medicis,*a rebell to the Seignorie Common-wealth: which made him ſo ſuſpected,that they began to marke his behauiour,and the manner of his proceedings; for they miſtruſted him to haue ſome ſecret intelligence with the enemie. And for this cauſe when they afterwards ſawe, that without any occaſion hee abandoned the Fortreſſe of Stampace,which was taken by force,and that being able to followe the victorie againſt the Piſans,he tooke no care to purſue them, but vſurping ſupreame power and authoritie,hee raiſed the ſiege from before

Peter de Medicis *chaſed from Florence.*

Guicciar.lib.4

before Pisa, without the leaue or knowledge of the Florentine Commissioners, they began to hold for certaine that which before they but doubted: in such sort, that to rid themselues of this suspition and feare, and to giue example to their other Leaders and Commanders of armies, they put him to death by order of Iustice. But except it were vpon some extreame accident, or to auoide some manifest and present danger, it were ill done for a man to attribute to himselfe more authoritie then he ought, and to promise also that which is not in his power to performe, as the Lord of Tremouille, who being, for *Lewes* the 12. King of France, Generall of his armie against *Henry* the 8. King of England, which made warre against the French King before Terouenne and Tournay. The said Generall hauing vnderstood that an armie of 20000. Swissers had besieged Dijon, the head Citie of Bourgundy, thereby to constraine the French King to giue ouer his claime to the Dutchie of Milan: and the said Lord of Tremouille seeing the great danger wherein the realme of France was, hee vsurped and attributed to himselfe more authoritie then to him appertained; so as promising that which he could not performe, neither had commission to promise, he came to parley with the chiefe conductors of the Swissers, and promised them that the King of France should surrender the right which he pretended to the state of Milan, and to assure his promise, he gaue thē 4. French gentlemen in ostage. The Lord Generall took this resolution, knowing that if the citie of Dijon were taken and lost, and that if that nation should not giue ouer to vexe the French King, being alreadie tired with warres, the Swissers on the one side, and the English on the other, might without any let march to Paris gates.

Paulo Vitellio *condemned to dye by the Florentines.*

The Lord of Tremouille with absolute power concluded a peace with the Swissers, notwithstanding that it was vpon very vnworthie conditions.

Peter de Medicis might peraduenture haue the same consideration, in making his treatie with the King of France, who seeing his countrie in great daunger, for that the King was in armes, victorious, displeased with the Florentine Common-wealth, and neere vnto Florence: but this warlike people, easily to bee moued to despite and indignation, iudging otherwise of his doings then hee deserued, chased him out of the towne, and proclaimed him Rebell. So as in summe, a man ought so moderately to vse the authoritie receiued; and to carrie himselfe in such sort, that he giue his Prince no cause to be iealous of him, by taking vpon him as a Prince, when as he is but an inferiour and a seruant: it is farre better to shew that he respecteth his Prince, by giuing him to vnderstand of all his purposes

A ſes and enterpriſes, than by vſurping equalitie ſeeme to make no account of him.

CHAP. 14.

VVhether a publike ſeruant of a Prince or Common-wealth, may paſſe the bounds of the commiſſion giuen vnto him or no?

B IT hath been often demaunded, and brought in queſtion, whether a Commiſſioner of a Prince or Common-wealth, ought ſo ſtrictly to conteine himſelfe tyed within the limits of the Commiſſion preſcribed vnto him, that he neuer paſſe the ſame? The reaſon of this queſtion commeth of the occaſion, which may hourely happen, to the good of the Prince, by exceeding the bouds of the Commiſſion, and to the dammage and loſſe of the Prince, by keeping and ſtrictly obſeruing the ſame. Some haue been of opinion, that a man ought ſo to keepe and obſerue his Commiſſion, that what occaſion ſoeuer be offered (to the better furthering of his buſines) yet ought he not to infringe the commaundement receiued. And ſo others ſay, that when occaſion is offered to a Commiſſioner, to the benefit of his Prince, he ought not to ſtand vpon his Commiſſion, but to accept of the benefit and the fortune preſented vnto him; ſeeing the profit, honour, and aduauncement that it bringeth to his Maſter. But they hold, that before all things, the profit and diſprofit of the buſines in queſtion, ought to be well thought on, by weighing and carefullie conſidering and balancing euery thing, and then to reſolue, whether he ſhall conteine himſelfe within, or to paſſe and exceede the bounds of his Commiſſion, ſaying in himſelfe: that it is not the part of a wiſe ſeruant, or miniſter, to loſe the occaſion, and to omit to doe any thing, but what is expreſſelie giuen him in charge by his Prince, who being vnable to foreſee euery accident that may happen, referreth it to the care and wiſe diſcretion of his officer and Commiſſioner.

C D

Sundry opinions whether a man ought to conteine himſelfe within the limits of his Commiſſion.

Manlius Torquatus *cauſed his owne ſonne to be ſlaine.*

ſioner. But the ſeueritie of *Manlius Torquatus*, might diſcourage any man that would paſſe the charge giuen him, who ſpared not the life of his owne ſonne, which fought with the enemie contrarie to his Fathers commaundement, notwithſtanding that he obtained the victorie. And in like manner, a Commiſſioner ought to be well aduiſed, conſidering the doing of *Publius Craſſus*, who battering a towne in the Iſle of Saint Maura, otherwiſe called Leucade, ſent word to his Ingenour, that he ſhould ſend him the greateſt and the longeſt ſhipmaſt, that was in the whole fleete, with intent to make a Ramme, to beate downe the wals of the Citie therewith: but the Ingenour, knowing what was neceſſarie for that purpoſe, better than his Maſter did, ſent him a tree, or Maſt, neither the greateſt nor the longeſt, but the fitteſt for the purpoſe, wherein he would imploy it. Wherefore the Conſull being diſcontented herewith, deeming that his reputation and the honour of the Romane people was toucht, if what he commaunded were not thoroughly executed howſoeuer; he ſent for the Ingenour, and commanded him to be whipt, vſing theſe words, Thou oughteſt to doe what I commaunded, and not that which to thee ſeemed good and conuenient. Therefore I ſay, that euery officer or miniſter hauing charge, ought to conſider with what ſuperiours he hath to deale: and to knowe his Princes inclination, for if he be obſtinate, hard headed, crabbed, ſeuere and cruell, he ought not in any caſe to exceede the Commiſſion preſcribed vnto him, notwithſtanding, that to breake it, were greatly to his Maſters good and profit: for it might be, that the Prince would be perſwaded, that his ſeruant or Commiſſioner did paſſe his authoritie, to the end to ſhew himſelfe wiſer than his Maſter, and ſo diſliking his good ſeruice, cauſe him to be puniſhed. And if it happen that the Prince ſay to him, thou oughteſt to haue done ſo, and ſo he may well excuſe himſelfe with this anſwere, I had no ſuch Commiſſion. And if a man haue to deale with ſome manner of men which are wreckfull, of a ſtrange nature, hard to pleaſe, diſcontented, not to be intreated, and churliſh and inhumane, it is better to be reproued by them in words, then to make proofe of their rigour and ſeueritie in deede: and it is more fit, by executing their commaundement, to ſhew obedience, then by paſſing their bounds, to ſhew diſobedience, notwithſtanding that it be much to his profit. When a Commiſſioner or publike officer, conſidereth that he hath to deale with a milde Prince, of a gentle condition, who will take things in good part, he

He that is imployed, ought to haue an eye to his Princes qualities and conditions.

A he may then take a little leaue, and make bolde to exceede the limits of his charge, taking ſome authoritie vpon him, hauing a principall regard to the honour and profit of his Maſter. *Francis Sforce* Generall of the Venetian Armie, tooke vpon him this authoritie, in the warres which they had againſt *Philip* Duke of Milan, which was of great importance: and hauing brought the ſame in a manner to a good end, at an inſtant, without any long ſtudie, and without vſing any ſpeech to the purueyours, neither by writing, to giue the Senate to vnderſtand thereof; in a night, he concluded a peace with the Duke of Milan, reueiled it to his B Captaines, and cauſed it to be proclaimed and publiſhed in the Armie; notwithſtanding that hee had no Commiſſion thereto. He did this, knowing with what manner of men he had to deale; and comming in perſon to yeeld account to the Seignorie of that which he had done, the Lords approued and ratified all that which he had concluded, being of a moſt courteous nature, gentle hearted, and enclined to peace. This peraduenture had not happened vnto *Starza*; neither had hee ſo eaſilie attained to ſuch commendation, if he had had to deale with ſome cruell and proud Prince, who iudging that by this treatie, hee had let ſlippe the victorie C out of his hands, but had peraduenture been puniſhed for a Traytor. Wherefore I hold it requiſite, that a ſeruant or Commiſſioner, in any charge, know the condition and humour which ruleth in his maſter, in ſuch ſort that hee follow the ſame, and ſo containe himſelfe within, or paſſe the bounds of his charge accordingly.

Francis Sforce *of his owne authoritie concluded peace betweene the Venetians and* Philip *Duke of Milan.*

CHAP. 15.

Whether Lewes Poggio *did erre in refusing to take possession of the Duchie of Milan, in the name and behalfe of* Alphonse *King of Naples, because he had no commission thereto, the which estate was renounced and abandoned by* Phillip Maria, *Vicount to the said King, being by him nominated and instituted heire vnto the said Duchie.*

BY that which is aboue said, a man may doubt whether *Lewes Poggio*, sent by *Alphonse* King of Naples to *Phillip* Vicount Duke of Milan, did erre, in that he tooke not possession of the state of Milan in the name of his King, seeing that *Phillip* by his will had appointed and G nominated him for his heire, and prayed him to take possession; which *Poggio* would not doe, because he had no such commission. But to the end, that the doubt may be the better vnderstood, I will in briefe repeate the historie, written by *Bartelmy Fazio*, in the acts and iests of *Alphonse* of Arragon first King of Naples, which was thus: *Phillip Vicount* had married his naturall or bastard daughter, whom hee loued verie dearely, to *Francis Sforce*, a great warriour, and Lord of many townes and Castles in the Marke: against whom *Phillip* (by reason of the hautie nature of his sonne in law) being displeased, H sought meanes to holde him downe, and to make him humble, and perswaded *Alphonse* to ioyne his and the Popes forces togethers, to chase him out of the March; which *Alphonse* at the request of Duke *Phillip*, (to whom hee held himselfe much beholding) with all his might performed. By reason whereof, *Francis* was constrained to yeeld himselfe to the mercie of his father in law, and to humble himselfe to him. *Francis* being receiued into the fauour and grace of *Phillip*, recouered his forces, and with much money, which his father in lawe caused to bee lent vnto him

Bartelm. Fazio in his 19. booke.

A him by King *Alphonſe*, hee began to deuiſe with himſelfe how hee might get into Lumbardie, and to get the ſtate of Milan. Which *Phillip* ſuſpecting, and ſtanding in doubt of him began to reſiſt him, and againe became his enemie. Wherewith *Francis* being diſpleaſed, attained to bee Generall of the Venetian and Florentine forces againſt him, and did ſo trouble him, that *Phillip* was but in ill taking. Wherefore being very much offended, and full of griefe, he prayed King *Alphonſe* to come to him in perſon, ſeeing that by meanes of his infirmitie he was not able to go to him, & acquaint him with his meaning, to leaue to him by will the Dutchie of Milan. The King

Francis Sforce *maketh warre againſt* Phillip *his father in law.*

B would not goe thither, but by faire words exhorted the ſicke Duke to haue no doubt of *Francis*, neither of the Venetians: for that hee would not ſuffer them to goe forwards, but that he would with his armie follow, and ſeeke all occaſions either to diuert, or ſeparate the forces of his enemies: which King *Alphonſe* performed, iudging it ill befitting his dignitie, hauing ſo great an Empire, to bereaue his friend of his eſtate. The Venetians valiantly purſued the enterpriſe, vnder the conduct of *Francis Sforce*, who hauing alreadie paſſed the riuer of Adde, put Duke *Phillip* in ſuch deſpaire, that doubting his owne power, he wrote to King *Alphonſe* to ſend him ſome man of

C truſt, with whom he might treate of matters of importance. Wherfore the King thinking that the Duke did not require any ſuch man without ſome cauſe, ſent *Lewes Poggio* vnto him: who being come to Milan, and knowne by his letters of credance, written by the Kings owne hand, that *Poggio* was the man whom he had ſent for, and expected; after that he had enquired how the King did, and of the ſtate of the realme, he told him that he had cauſed him to come, for that he would giue and deliuer into the Kings hands al the right which he had in the ſtate of Milan, which he had alreadie done by his will and teſtament, and prayed him to take poſſeſſion thereof, in

D the name and behalfe of his King, for that he had determined to repoſe himſelfe: and if he would not doe ſo, he proteſted that there wanted not to whom to giue it, but it might peraduenture fall into the hands of ſome ſuch a one, as would warre againſt *Alphonſe*, and then he would repent that he had not accepted of that Dukedome. *Poggio*, who had no ſuch charge from his Maſter, would not take the poſſeſſion, fearing to offend the King, anſwering that he would with all ſpeed repaire to his Maſter to know his pleaſure, and would preſently returne with his reſolution. But while hee went to conſult and reſolue of the taking of the poſſeſſion of that Dutchie, there

paſt ſo much time,& the reſolution was ſo ſlow,that *Phillips* ſicknes E
encreaſing, he died. By whoſe death ſprung ſo many ſundrie acci-
dents & changes of fortune,that *Alphonſe* in the end loſt that eſtate,
notwithſtanding that by will he was inſtituted heire thereof. The
queſtion now is, whether *Poggio* were not in a fault, in refuſing to
take the poſſeſſion,although he had no ſuch charge from the King,
whoſe glorie,eſtate and reputation hee might haue aduanced: for
the Dutchie of Milan was no ſuch eſtate as to be deſpiſed,& ſeeing
the King was inclined to take it. A man may anſwere hereto and
ſay,that *Poggio* did not erre,containing himſelfe within the bounds
of his commiſſion, which was, that hee ſhould heare the ſecrets of F
importance,wherewith Duke *Phillip* would acquaint him,without
concluding any thing with him, but to report to the King the qua-
litie and importance of thoſe ſecrets. It may be alſo ſaid, that *Pog-*
gio knowing peraduenture what the King had written to the Duke,
when touching the ſame demaund,he anſwered,that he would not
goe to Milan to accept of the Dukedome, which the Duke would
leaue to him, and that he ſhould not doubt of *Francis Sforce*,neither
of the Venetians;for that he would take ſuch order that they ſhould
not moleſt him;iudged not that thing well done which the ſeruant
did and the Prince would not doe: and knowing that the King G
ſhewed not himſelfe inclined to take poſſeſſion of that Seignorie,
he feared to offend him,if he in his Maieſties name ſhould take poſ-
ſeſſion of that eſtate, which his Maieſtie would not doe in perſon.
But he that would haue regard vnto the effect and iſſue which fol-
lowed,might well ſay that *Poggio* committed a great fault: for that
being returned to the King,and hauing acquainted him with Duke
Phillips meaning,he preſently ſent him to take the poſſeſſion: wher-
by it may bee coniectured, that the King was not vnwilling, but
diſpleaſed that *Poggio* had not taken it. For when a Commiſſioner
or an Agent may profit his Prince, hee ought not ſo narrowly to H
looke into his Commiſſion,that he let it ſlip: ſeeing that according
to the Adage: Delayes breede dangers,and bring with them diuers
accidents: as happened in this matter aforeſaid, where betweene
the going and comming *Phillip* died, and left this life for another.
The Milanois obtained libertie, *Francis Sforce* aroſe and pretended
right to the ſtate,as ſonne in law and adopted ſonne to the deceaſed
Duke, and King *Alphonſe* was put by. *Poggio* ſeeing how ſicke the
Duke was, might haue taken poſſeſſion, vpon condition, ſo as the
King ſhould be pleaſed and like thereof. He committed (peraduen-
ture)

A ture) yet another fault, in departing himſelfe in perſon from Milan, for that hee might haue diſpatched a poſt, as the importance of the buſines required, and haue aduertiſed the King of what the Duke had ſaid vnto him, attending anſwere. For that his abode in Milan had been to good purpoſe, in this, that he had held the Duke firme in his determination, who naturally was variable and fearefull, and anſwere had come ſooner then it did; for ſtaying in the way, he was preuented by the Dukes death: and the Milanois, hauing within the Citie an Ambaſſadour and Commiſſioner from the King, had peraduenture withheld, and doubted to haue intermedled B with their libertie, and peraduenture would haue permitted him to haue taken poſſeſſion of the eſtate in the name of *Alphonſe*, as heire by will, being very ill affected vnto *Francis Sforce*: who knowing that he had to deale with a mightie and puiſſant King, who had alreadie put him to his ſhifts in the warres of La March, he would not peraduenture ſo eaſily haue taken armes, to ſeaze vpon and occupie the ſtate, ſeeing that *Alphonſe* pretended title, and had a deſire thereto; beſides a thouſand good occaſions which might haue been offered, to the good of his King, which through his abſence were loſt. But men thinke to diſpatch their buſines better themſelues in per- C ſon, than by another, or by letters, and to ſhew themſelues moſt affectionate officers and ſeruants to their Prince, and more diligent, going in perſon to informe him of the affaires, than to proceede therein by letters; and thinking to expreſſe the importance of the buſines better by word of mouth than by writing: oftentimes they reſolue to depart from a place, where if they had continued, they had done farre better. But a man (be he neuer ſo wiſe and diligent) cannot foreſee euery thing, that may break and croſſe all that which he had purpoſed.

The fault of Lewes Poggio *in departing from Milan.*

Chap. 16.

He who is diſloyall and vnfaithfull to the firſt friend, may yet proue both truſtie and faithfull to the ſecond.

ALthough that we haue ſaid here before, that *Francis Sforce* committed a fault, in repoſing truſt in *Donat Raffignin*, who betrayed his kinſwoman *Bonna*, a man ſpeaketh not alwaies by contraries when he ſaith, that a diſloyall and vnfaithfull man to the firſt friend, may neuertheleſſe proue truſtie and faithfull to the ſecond. And when (I ſay) that a man ought not to truſt him who hath couſoned and deceiued his firſt friend, this is not to ſay but that hee may be loyall to a ſecond: and the doings of one man ought not to be held as a generall rule for all men, the contrarie being ſeene in ſome, who haue made moſt commendable and honourable proofes of their loue to their ſecond friends: which they may doe for many cauſes. Firſt, to recouer and get againe their honor loſt, in forſaking and abandoning their firſt friend in time of neede: which maketh a man very blame worthie, except vrgent occaſion force it. Secondly, to let the world know that the fact by him committed was not through his malice, but through the fault of his firſt friend, who vpon ſome occaſion had conſtrained him to leaue him. Thirdly, hee continueth firme and conſtant in his friendſhip, to repaire and amend the lightnes of the firſt, which cannot be amended but by the firme conſtancie of the ſecond. And fourthly, for that finding greater conformitie of nature and blood in the ſecond than in the firſt, he doth that for him, which he would not do for the other. Finally, for that he cõſidereth that being as vnfaithfull & diſloyall to the ſecond friend, as he was to the firſt, he incurreth the danger neuer to finde any more friends: for he is vnworthie of friendſhip, who was neither firme in the firſt, neither conſtant in the ſecond: wherfore you ought not to contẽne any mans friendſhip whatſoeuer. But becauſe a man can neuer be too well aſſured of ſuch maner of men, who may practiſe the ſame lightnes

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One mans doings ought not to ſerue for a generall rule for all men.

Three are ſtrong things which induce a man who hath been diſloyall to his firſt friend, to be faithfull to the ſecond.

A lightnes and inconſtancie with the ſecond as they did with the firſt, it ſhall bè good not to contemne it, but to liue with them, in ſuch ſort that whenſoeuer their mindęs begin to change, their changing be neither dammageable or dangerous. The moſt wiſe Emperour *Charles* the 5. refuſed not, neither contemned the friendſhip of the Duke of *Bourbon*, who forſooke (in his greateſt need) his firſt friend and Lord *Francis* the firſt King of France; but entertained and embraced his friendſhip, vſing him very honourably: and *Bourbon* in this ſecond friendſhip alway carried himſelfe very faithfully, and did the Emperour great ſeruice: and although that he knew well
B that in the Emperours Court he was not beloued, yet for all that he remained euer firme and conſtant in the Emperours ſeruice. But notwithſtanding all this, in like caſes which depend on the faith of another, a man ought (as I haue ſaid) to be wel aduiſed, and not ſo to ſettle his affection on a man, as to place his whole heart vpon him, but to proceed ſo wiſely, that although he change his minde, and be inclined to the friendſhip of the firſt friend, or of any other, that it annoy him not. And for this cauſe, the aforeſaid Emperour did ſo beare himſelfe with the warlike Prince, *Charles* of Bourbon, that entertaining him with honourable parts, and hauing made him his
C Generall in Italie, and at the laſt ſent him into Lumbardie to the gouernment of a deſperate armie, hee conſidered that he could not greatly annoy him, if peraduenture he altered his determination: which, as a conſtant and vertuous Prince, hee did not. Wee are to conclude, that although a man cannot too ſurely ſettle his foote, and ground his foundation vpon ſuch light and variable men, whoſe friendſhip is ſo fickle: yet neuertheleſſe a man ought not to contemne and reiect their friendſhip and good will, but ſo to repoſe truſt in them, that if they would, yet they ſhould not be able to doe any harme.

No mans friendſhip is to be deſpiſed, whatſoeuer he be, when it is offered.

CHAP. 17.

To denie to a people their firſt demaunds, is to make them the better content with what they receiue, and the more moderate in their demaunds afterwards.

OF all the imperfections and euill conditions of a people, this is placed amongſt the moſt principal, to be inſatiable and neuer content with their eſtate and degree: As when they meete with a Prince, who for any occaſion whatſoeuer will yeeld to their demaunds, and graunt what they deſire, they neuer ceaſe nor reſt, following their peeuiſh condition: but ſtill drawne forwards with hope to obtaine, they continue their asking with greater vehemencie then at the firſt. And it happeneth vnto them, as to one which is ſicke of a feuer and is ill gouerned, who knowing his keeper to be gentle and eaſie to be intreated, to let him haue what he will, ſo as hauing giuen him once to drinke, encreaſeth his thirſt: euen ſo a people knowing the Prince which gouerneth them to be either fearefull, or kinde, and ſoft ſpirited, without any reſpect they grow ſhameleſſe, and dare to make vnreaſonable and immoderate demaunds, which may not be graunted. Wherefore it is a point of wiſedome, to begin to denie and refuſe to grant the firſt things which they ſhall demaund: for although at the firſt refuſe, they ſeeme to be ill content and much offended, there is no great reckoning to be made thereof: for that they conſidering that they haue to deale with a Lord, which will not eaſily ſuffer himſelfe to bee led and perſwaded, they become more milde, contenting themſelues with that which is reaſonable, and receiue thoſe things for fauours which are graunted vnto them. And to the contrarie, when in the beginning a man granteth what they demaund, (the deſire to haue increaſing in them) they preſent new requeſts; which being refuſed, they make no reckoning of what they haue receiued, and become diſcontent with the Prince which gouerneth them.

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The common people is inſatiable, euer coueteth new things, and is neuer content.

A them. We haue an example hereof in *Lewes* the 12. King of France, and the people of Milan: for that *Le More* Duke of Milan being fled into Germany to eſcape from the French, who in a manner without armes made a conqueſt of that eſtate, the newes came ſpeedily into France of the conqueſt of Milan, of the Caſtle, and of the whole Dutchie, with aduertiſement of the flight of the Duke. Wherefore King *Lewes* paſſed ſpeedily into Italie; and being come to Milan, hee was receiued by the people with incredible ioy: and the people finding this King to be very gentle, who graunted them many graces and fauours, they demaunded exemption of ſundrie
B toles and cuſtomes, and the King graciouſly yeelded to their petitions. But perſiſting in their immoderate requeſts, and not content to obtaine their firſt deſires, purpoſed to be wholy exempt from all toles and cuſtomes, and to be free from all charges whatſoeuer: whereto the King would not conſent, for that their demaund ſeemed to him too vnreaſonable and vniuſt, thinking that he had alreadie vſed them with ſufficient curteſie, both in generall and in particular; this people could not take it in good part, but was diſcontent. Wherfore if the King had not been ſo haſtie in the beginning to grant what they demaunded; or if he had ripely conſide-
C red the importance of the exemption of the toles and cuſtomes, ſo as hauing abſolutely refuſed their petitions, and had told them that he would thinke vpon their demaunds; and afterwards conſidering of ſome charges or cuſtomes of leſſe importance, if hee had then graunted an exemption of ſome of them, the people would haue reſted ſatisfied with that little, and would not haue preſumed ſo inſatiably to demaund the whole. Wherefore the people ought gently to be denied and refuſed in their firſt demaunds, and yet not to be put cleane out of hope and in deſpaire to obtaine: for that which they ſhall afterwards obtaine, will be willingly and thank-
D fully accepted, and they will ſhew themſelues gratefull for the ſame.

Guicciar. lib. 4

The people of Milan reiected by Lewes *K. of France.*

CHAP.

CHAP. 18.

In chusing Generals and chiefe commaunders, their vertue ought more to be regarded, then the nobilitie of their blood or any priuate affection.

THe Emperour *Leo* in his first booke intituled, the preparation for warre, speaking of the election of a Generall, sayth, that to knowe the generositie and courage of a Dogge or a Horse, we haue regarde to his proper operations, and not to the damme or syre which got him: euen so the nobleneſſe of a man, ought to be considered, by his proper valour and vertue, and not by the blood of those which brought him into the world, neither of the glorie of his predeceſſors, which oftentimes descendeth not to the posteritie, as hereditarie, but is altered and degenerate. And he saith further, that it is ill done, to contemne a man of worth, for that he is not issued of noble blood, and to admire and make great account of a base fellow of no worth or courage, because he is descended of some noble and illustrious race and familie. This error in election is committed in two manners, either in thinking that he which is noble should likewise be vertuous; or for particular affection in the behalfe of some one, from whom a man would expect the like fauour. As for the error which is committed in the election of the Generall, to ayme more at the nobleneſſe of his blood, then at the proper vertue of him which is chosen, I say, that it was committed by *Nicephorus Phocas* Emperour of Constantinople, who regarding more the nobilitie of the blood from whence was issued a young man, called *Manicel*, than his experience and vertue in the warre, which he had in Sicilia against the Sarrazins, he chose him for his Generall. This Emperour *Phocas*, in the beginning of his Empire, seeing how vnfit it was for the dignitie of an Emperour, to pay tribute to the Barbarians, resolued with himselfe to make warre, and sent into Sicilie a great armie against the

The nobleneſſe of a man is to be considered according to his valour and vertue, and not according to, and after his deſcent.

There is double error committed in chusing of Captaines.

Fazellius in his first booke of the second decade of the historie of Sicilie.

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the

A the Sarrazins which held the ſame; whereof he made his Nephew *Manicel* Generall, baſtard ſonne of *Leo* his brother, which he had on a Concubine. This man what for his age, (being very young) as alſo for his ignorance and little experience in the warres, beſides many other vices, wherewith he was ſpotted, being vnfit for the place of a Generall, would not hearken to the aduiſe of his Captaines, which were appointed to be his counſellours, and tutours, but gouerning all with little iudgement and diſcretion, he was drawne by the Sarrazins into certaine ſtreights and hard paſſages, where incloſed and compaſſed about; hee
B was ouercome and put to flight by the Barbarians, with all his whole Armie. Wherefore the Emperour to his coſt was taught, what it was to commit the charge of a Nauie by Sea, or an armie by land, to perſons without iudgement and experience, notwithſtanding that they be noble and of his owne blood: for notwithſtanding that a man giue them Captains and Counſellours, which are wiſe and of experience; yet it is to be doubted, that a young man through his foole-hardineſſe, will not be ruled, after the iudgement of wiſe men, but will marre all. As for the errour in chuſing of a Captaine, it was committed in our fathers time, by *Lewes* Duke of
C Milan; who hauing often had proofe of the valour and worth of *Anthony Maria Sanſeuerin*, Earle of Gaiazza, to whom he had ſundrie times giuen charge in the warres; and hauing made him his Generall, and afterwards taking a liking to *Galeas Sanſeuerin* his younger brother, being not onely of fewer yeeres, but alſo of leſſe experience, yet he preferred him in his greateſt need and danger, before the Earle; for that he had ſeene him manage his horſe very gallantly, and charge his launce very brauely at a Tournay. For this cauſe *Lewes* fauouring him, made him Generall of his Armie, in whoſe place (for many reaſons) he ought to haue giuen that charge to the
D Earle his brother: but the iſſue ſhewed, how vnwiſely Princes are deceiued, which make choiſe of perſons to whom they commit the charge of weightie affaires, more for the fauour and affection which they beare to them, whom they chooſe, then for their vertue and experience: for *Galeas* ſhamefully fled by night from Alexandria, which was taken by the enemie, and then *Lewes* was taught to know the difference betweene the wiſe leading of an Armie with iudgement, and the gallant charging of a launce with a good grace. And hereof enſued many inconueniences, for the Earle went to ſerue the French, ſeeing that his younger brother was preferred before him

Manicel *put to flight by the Sarrazins through want of experience in the warres.*

Guicciar. lib. 4.

Galeas Sanſeuerin *fled from Alexandria and left it in pray to the enemie.*

Antonie Maria Earle of Galazza accompanied Lewes More Duke of Milan to priſon in France with his troupe of horſe.

him to the charge of Generall, and forſooke him in his greateſt need; and *Galeas* was of euery man held for a coward and a daſtard: *Lewes* was noted of little iudgement; and *Anthony Maria* blamed for vnfaithfull and diſloyall, hauing taken pay of the French King, and abandoning the Duke in his greateſt miſerie, ſo farre, that in the end he accompanied him with his troupe of horſe into Fraunce to a priſon. E

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CHAP. 19.

In time of dangerous warres, men of vertue and of worth ought to be preferred and placed in gouernments; and when a man in a ſmall enterpriſe, hath not honourably diſcharged his office, and yet would intrude and make himſelfe chiefe, and haue principall commaund in great matters, he deſerueth to be repulſed. G

Charges of importance are moſt commonly giuen to vnworthy perſons, and ſuch as are of no experience.

THe ſpurre of ambition doth pricke and ſometimes ſo poyſon the heart, that a man in this ſort loſing the light of his vnderſtanding, and the knowledge of himſelfe, regardeth neither the common good, nor the greatnes of the enterpriſe, ſo as he may obtaine what he deſireth: And this fault happeneth more often in Common-wealths, where gouernments are giuen by voyces, then in abſolute principalities, where more regard is had of the worth, than of any other thing. And when in a Common-wealth the number of young men ſurpaſſeth and is of greater power than of the olde men, the young men (as ill aduiſed, and of ſmall experience) moſt commonly fauour him more, to whom they are affected, then him who is of deſert: by reaſon whereof, ſuch faults are ordinarilie made in the chuſing of Captaines, which execute their place to the loſſe and ſhame of their Country. And although ſome ſay, that in time of neceſſitie vertue is ſought for, which in time of peace was not eſteemed, H

neuerthe-

A neuertheleſſe this is not alwaies true, but is plainely verified in extreme dangers, as the Romanes did by *Fabius Maximus*, the Venetians by *Victor Piſani*, and the Florentines by *Anthony Iacomini*: yea it is ſeene, that without the ſage counſell of wiſe Senators, and the ripe iudgement of olde men, the aduiſe of young men had ouerthrowne and vndone their Countrey in their elections. Wherefore the Senator and Counſellour, who without reſpect of perſons, in publike ſhall declare the ill carriage of thoſe, which hauing not done well in ſmall matters, and yet would be chiefe in matters of greateſt importance, ſhall be euer praiſed and eſteemed, as a procu-
B rer of the common good, and louer of his countrey: and ſhewing by his ſpeech, the truth ſhall cauſe ſome to change their opinion, which might be otherwiſe affected. *Fabius Maximus* was in the Senate at Rome, when election ſhould haue been made of new Conſuls, at what time *Hannibal* of Carthage made preparation to inuade Sicilia, which ſeemed to be much inclined vnto him. In that day the young men were to name the new Conſuls, and for that they named one *Titus Ottacilius*, who in his Conſulſhip and gouernment paſt, had done nothing that was of worth: *Fabius* thought him vnfit for that charge, notwithſtanding that he had married one
C of his Nieces, and ſayd openly, that if warre were to be waged againſt enemies, which would not take aduantage of errors and negligences, a man might chuſe more for fauour than for neede, becauſe in ſmooth waters and ſtill Seas, euery one can rule the helme and guide the Ship: but when tempeſts and ſtormes ariſe, there needeth a good and well experienced Pilot. And foraſmuch as the Romane Common-wealth was not then ſo calme and in quiet, as they might goe play, but was ſo beaten and plunged in, and with many ſtormes, they ought therefore carefully to ſee to whom they gaue the gouernment and helme thereof. And ſo addreſſing his
D ſpeech to *Ottacilius*, he ſaid, we haue (oh *Titus Ottacilius*) had experience of thy vertue and valour in leſſe matters: and truly thou haſt not done any good thing, by meanes whereof we ſhould be induced to commit to thy charge, any matters of greater importance. We made the other yeare, preparation for a nauie by Sea, whereof thou hadſt the charge and gouernment; firſt, to the end it ſhould ſpoyle and ſacke the ſhores ſide of Africa. Secondly, to the end to garde and aſſure our owne coaſts and frontiers of Italie. Thirdly, to the end that to *Hannibal* from Africa into Italie, there ſhould come no reliefe or ſuccour, neither of money nor victuals. And then tur-

That vertue is knowne in time of trouble, which in peace is not eſteemed.

Fabius Maximus *oppoſed himſelfe againſt* Titus Ottacilius, *who had married his ſiſters daughter, and would haue been Conſull.*

Titus Liuius *in his fourth booke of the 3. decades.*

ning himſelfe towards the whole councell, he added, Make *Ottacilius* Conſull, I ſay not, if he haue performed all theſe things, but if he haue done onely any one of them to the profit and honour of the Common-wealth. And then againe turning himſelfe towards him, he ſayd, but if whileſt thou haſt been Generall and Gouernour of the armie at Sea, all things came in ſafty from Carthage to *Hannibal*, and with ſuch libertie as in time of peace, if the coaſt of Italie hath been more infeſted with warre, than the coaſt of Africa, what canſt thou ſay and alleage for thy defence,&c. By the which words all the young men altered their opinions, and opened their eyes, to make choyſe of ſuch men for Conſuls, as by their valour and vertue might reſiſt and make head againſt *Hannibal*. Wherefore let euery Gentleman, that ſhall be preſent at the election of ſuch Captaines, conſider the time, the qualitie of the warre, and the vertue and worth of the perſon whom they nominate. If the time be quiet, and the qualitie of the warre of no great importance, they may make proofe of ſome one whom the fauour: but if he haue ill diſcharged his place in the firſt imployment in a ſmall matter, he ought not to be truſted in the ſecond in a greater: and although he poſſibly eſcaped with his honour, yet it is not good to put ſuch affayres in hazard. *Guicciardin* ſaith, that the Florentines reſolued that they would not make *Rinuccio de Marcian* Generall of their armie, in their warres of Piſa, although he were much fauoured, for that hee had once been vanquiſhed and put to flight, and carried himſelfe ill in a charge of leſſer importance.

In chuſing of Generals for the Warres, the qualitie of the Warre, and the worthineſſe of the perſon which is to be choſen, are chiefly to be regarded.

CHAP.

CHAP. 20.

How dangerous it is in two armies being enemies, to haue ſouldiers of one particular nation.

B THe accidents and diſgraces vnthought of and vnexpected which may happen to Princes and Potentates, are ſuch, and in ſo great number, that it is impoſſible to foreſee thē, and much leſſe to yeeld remedie when they are come: but if by things paſt, we may coniecture of things to come, and by other mens loſſe learne to prouide for our ſelues, let vs make our profit of other mens harmes. It ſhall not be much from the matter, to conſider how dangerous it is to Princes and Common-wealths, which haue not ſufficient forces in their owne countries, but are
C conſtrained to hire ſtrangers, when they are to encounter with an enemie, who in his armie hath ſouldiers of the ſame nation, whereof the ſame Common-wealths haue hired many, ſo as in the two armies are Captaines and ſouldiers of one and the ſame countrie; I ſay that to be conſtrained to doe this, is a thing very dangerous, becauſe that being alike in conditions, in ſpeech, and peraduenture of parentage, aliance, and of blood, it will be no hard matter for the one to procure the other to remoue houſehold, and to plot ſome conſpiracie and treaſon. And although that Captaines employ all their wits to keepe their ſouldiers from conuerſing with other ſoul-
D diers, which are their countrimen, in the enemies armie; I ſay they cannot alwaies be ſo diligent and watchfull, that they auoide the daunger. Whereof wee haue example and experience in the daies of our anceſtors, and particularly in the perſon of *Lewes More* Duke of Milan, and *Francis* the firſt, King of France, and the Emperour *Maximilian*. *Lewes More* took Nauarrette, with the aide of the Swiſſwers: but being beſieged therein by the French, amongſt which were many Swiſſers, he made triall how daungerous it was to haue friends and enemies both of one countrie and nation: for that the Swiſſer Captaines which were in the French campe, wonne

It is not poſſible to foreſee nor preuent the miſhaps and diſgraces which may happen to Princes, neither to reſiſt or redreſſe them when they happen.

and corrupted the Swiſſers ſouldiers which were with the Duke, ſo E
as they did not onely mutine againſt the Duke, but alſo betrayed
him: for when he would haue iſſued forth with his forces to haue
Guicciar.lib.4 aſſailed the French, the Captaines of the Swiſſers (alreadie muti-
ning) ſaid openly, that without leaue from their Lords, they would
not fight and come to blowes, againſt their couſins, their brothers,
and others of their owne nation; and preſently after they aſſem-
bled themſelues togethers, faining that they would goe home to
their owne houſes: and their treacherie and diſloyaltie was ſo ex-
treame, that they betrayed the Duke, who being apparelled and ar-
med like a Swiſſer, marched a foote in ranke in a ſquadron like a F
priuate ſouldier amongſt them.

The Almains which were in the pay of *Francis* the firſt, ſhewed
him ſuch a like tricke: for when the King of France would haue gi-
uen aſſault to the towne of Breſſe, they ſaid that they would not go
Guicci.lib.12. againſt ſuch townes as were held by the Emperour. But the truth
was that they did this, becauſe that within the towne there were
(beſides other men of warre) two thouſand Almaine ſouldiers: ſo
as to eſchue the comming to hands againſt them, they would not
The Emperour Maximilian *diſtruſted the Swiſſers.* fight. And the Emperour *Maximilian* fearing the like daunger,
when he came into Italie againſt the French, and conſidering that G
in his armie were many Swiſſers, and in his enemies campe were
10000. of the ſame nation, he remembred what had happened vnto
Lewes More, and how the Swiſſers had dealt with him at Nouarret-
te: wherefore without doing any other thing he retired to Trent,
and would not (to his daunger and dammage) make proofe of the
Swiſſers fidelity, knowing how hard a matter it is, to bring ſouldiers
of a nation to fight againſt others in the enemies campe of the ſame
nation. When a Prince or a Common-wealth is conſtrained to vſe
the helpe of ſtrangers, eſpecially of thoſe nations which are free, as
the Swiſſers, the Griſons, and ſuch like, it is very neceſſarie to know H
whether the enemie likewiſe hath waged any of that nation, and to
what number, to the end to be reſolued and aſſured which way he
is to bend his force to auoide the daunger: or to entertaine ſo few,
as if they would, they ſhould not be able to annoy him, though they
did reuolt from him, ſeeing that in the warres euen the leaſt muti-
nie and reuolt is ill and hurtfull.

CHAP.

CHAP. 21.

Lightnes of beleefe is a great fault in any man, and too much credulitie hath bred and cauſed many euils.

BIT is a common ſaying, that to be light of beleefe, and eaſily perſwaded to a thing, ſheweth a lightnes of wit, and a weakenes of the braine: and from thence it commeth that ſuch manner of men are eaſilie deceiued; for through want of iudgement, ſtanding vpon the ſhew and appearance of reaſons, and the efficacie of words, they, without conſideration, doe that whereto they are perſwaded and made to beleeue. *Light beleefe in euery thing ſheweth a light wit & weake braines.*

These men (for the moſt part) are of the nature of women, or of
C little children, and therefore in their actions they ſhew ſmall conſtancie: and are conſtrained to chaunge and alter their opinion, and with diſhonor withdraw frō that which they haue done, or to their loſſe to reproue themſelues for being too credulous: By which meanes they are accompted and held for men of the firſt impreſſion: for that their wits being as ſoft as waxe, that which they are perſwaded vnto is eaſily imprinted. Charges and gouernments of importance ought not to be giuen to ſuch perſons: for that being eaſie to be deceiued, they are ſubiect and prone to commit a thouſand errors. *Charges and gouernments of importance are not to be giuen to men of the firſt impreſſion.*

These men are alſo eaſily induced to truſt, and remit
D matters to the diſcretion of others: and thence it commeth, that when they haue to deale with cunning and craftie perſons, they are led by the noſe and perceiue it not, vntill they be plunged, and (as wee ſay) duckt ouer head and eares, in ſuch ſort, that they ſhall not be able to remedie the matter. They alſo ſuffer themſelues to bee drawne and ouercome with a common brute and publike report of ſomething (as too credulous) in ſuch ſort that they ſuffer themſelues to be carried away and lulled aſleepe in the error, without caring to be aſcertained of the truth: and chiefly when they may and ought to be moſt vigilant and carefull, they are ſo ſeduced by the

smooth wordes of those which perswade them to the contrarie of E
that, which they should boult out and be assured of, that not know-
ing whereon to resolue, they durst doe nothing which may assure
them.

Roger the 2. King of Sicilie, sonne of *Tancredi*, was of such light beleefe, and so prone to repose trust in others, to his owne great hurt and dammage, that hauing some controuersie with the Emperour *Henry* the fift, which pretended title to the Kingdome of Sicilie, in the right of *Constance* his Wife, he came to an accord and agreement with him, whereby the Kingdome was diuided, which conteyned then the Kingdome of Naples. King *Roger* perceiuing F
that he could not long time defend himselfe against the Emperour, who was fauored by the Church of Rome, made a composition with him, vpon this condition, that the Emperour should holde Sicilia, and *Roger* the Kingdome of Naples: The Emperour was content with this agreement, and taking his way towards Palermo, to enter into possession of the Kingdome of Sicilia, with many signes of good will and friendship, and many faire words, but all fained, he drew vnto him the simple credulous King *Roger*, who went with him euen to Palermo, to passe and throughly to confirme the agreement: where, with *Alteria*, *Constance*, and *Madonia* his sisters, he was G
deteyned prisoner, and being depriued of all regall authoritie, was sent in exile into Germanie, where his eyes being pluckt out, and his stones cut off, to the end he should not hope to haue any more children, he was condemned to perpetuall imprisonment. Which happened to him, for that he gaue too much credit to the smooth words and faire shewes of good will and friendship, vsed by the Emperour: and for trusting too much to a reconciled friend, without considering into what danger he aduentured, putting himselfe into his hands, who would haue bereaued him of his life. If he had gone, and quietlie enioyed the Kingdome which was fallen vnto H
him by lot or election, without busying himselfe so simply in courting a Prince which had shewne himselfe his enemie, he had not so miserablie lost his life and Kingdome. *Vital Michel* second of that name, Prince of Venice, fell into this error of light and easie beleefe; arriuing at Negreponte with a mightie Armie and Nauie, to goe against *Emanuel* Emperour of Constantinople, who had shewed infinit signes of hatred against that Common-wealth, and was of power to haue put the Emperour to great trouble, giuing credit to the gouernour of that Ile, who was a most subtill Greeke; he lost a

most

Roger *the second, King of Sicilie taken prisoner at Palermo, by the Emperour Henry the fift, with his three sisters, who had eyes & stones pluckt out, and afterward dyed in Prison.*

A moſt faire occaſion, greatly to haue benefited his countrey. For the Gouernour ſeeing ſo great and ſo mighty an army and fleete, and conſidering the loſſe and danger, whereinto the Emperour was like to fall, by faire words he perſwaded *Michel* to ſend Ambaſſadours to Conſtantinople: for he knew well, that the Emperour would accept of any condition of peace. This, this Gouernour did, either through his owne malice, or that he had agreed with the Emperour to ſay ſo. The Venetian Prince gaue ſimply too much credit to the ſubtle Greeke, and hauing ſent Ambaſſadours towards the Emperour, whileſt hee attended their returne at Scio, which were enter-

Vital Michel *Prince of Venice in diſgrace with the people.*

B tained with faire words, a moſt grieuous plague fell in the Armie, which in a manner did wholy defeat the ſame: ſo as it was thought, that the waters which ſerued for the Fleet, and the Armie, were poiſoned. For this cauſe, without annoying or any way offending the Emperour, being wholy ruinated, hee returned to Venice, and fell into ſuch diſgrace and hatred of the people, that they killed him. His errour was, in giuing too light credit, and truſting in one who was a traytor, and moſt diſloyall; he loſt the occaſion to haue perfourmed many faire and honourable enterpriſes and exploits, for the good and profit of his Common-wealth, which happened in

C the yeere of our Redemption 1163. Moreouer ſundrie Lords and Captains fell into the like errour of light beleeuing, and giuing credit to falſe reports, and ſome likely ſignes, and ſhewes of friendſhip expreſly fayned, in the raigne of king *Manfredi*; by reaſon whereof enſued many tumults and troubles of wars in Sicilia. King *Manfredi* was a man very wily and cunning, who aſpired to the kingdome of Sicilie, wherein *Conradin* the ſonne of the Emperour *Conrad* was inueſted, who dying, left to his ſonne *Conradin* (which was in Germany) for tutours, the principall and chiefe Lords of Bauiere: and *Manfredi* who was Prince of Tarento, was by the Em-

D perour left chiefe Gouernour of the ſaid *Conradin*. *Manfredi* then aſpired to the kingdome of Sicilia, (the papall ſeat of Pope *Innocent* being void,) he ouerthrew the Eccleſiaſticall Armie: but *Alexander* comming to ſucceed in the Papacie, he ſent an Armie againſt *Manfredi*, vnder the conduct of his Legat *Octauian Vbaldini*, to keep him from ſeiſing on that Kingdome. *Manfredi* which was encloſed in Nocerra, knew well that he could not long reſiſt the forces of the Church, and the tutours of *Conradin*, Barons and Lords of Bauiere: wherefore hauing recourſe to wiles and ſhifts, he purpoſed to ſhew ſome cunning, which ſerued rather through the credulitie of the e-

nemic, then that of it ſelfe it was ſo ingenious. He made certaine of E
his moſt faithfull and truſtie ſeruants, to goe forth of Nocerra, the
which, few daies after, made a ſhew to be come from Germanie, be-
ing clad all in blacke, with letters ſealed with a falſe ſeale, which
gaue aduiſe of the certaine death of *Conradin:* by reaſon whereof,
by exteriour ſignes, *Manfredi* knew ſo well, how to colour his trea-
ſon, (making publike funerals, cloathing himſelfe and all his rout
with him, in mourning apparell) that the Popes Legate beleeuing
that to be true, which was fayned, raiſed the ſiege; and the tutours
of Bauiere which were in diuers townes, for *Conradin*, abandoned
their charge, ſaying, that ſeeing that *Conradin* was dead, they had no F
more to do with the gouernement of thoſe townes: wherefore the
Napolitans themſelues, being deceiued with the ſame errour, salu-
ted *Manfredi*, and proclaimed him king of Sicilia. So the light and
eaſie beleefe of the Italian and Bauiere Lords, was the cauſe that
Conradin in his life time, was depriued of his eſtate, which might ea-
ſily haue been preuented, if the tutours of the child, or any other
Prince, would diligently haue enformed himſelfe of the trueth, and
diſcouered the fact, by ſending ſome man expreſſely with all ſpeed
into Germany, without giuing ſuch light credit to one onely aduer-
tiſement, and with ſo little conſideration, to forſake and abandon G
their charges and gouernement, which happened in the yeere 1252.
And this fault of eaſie beleeuing was committed by a Florentine
Commiſſioner, in the yeere 1498. which was the occaſion that the
Florentines by a treatie loſt Bibienna in the Caſantin. For that the
Venetians hauing vndertaken the protection and defenſe of Piſa a-
gainſt the Florentines, they ſent to the Cazantin, *Bartelmi d'Auiano*
with their Armie. This man hauing ſecret intelligence with ſome of
Bibienna, ſent his ſouldiers into the towne, to perfourme the treatie
and enterpriſe: the Florentines had aduertiſement hereof frō many
Guicciar. lib. 4 places, & particularly from the citie of Boulongna. Wherefore they H
ſpeedily diſpatched their Commiſſarie, who ſpeaking with ſome of
the practizers themſelues, which he held already in priſon, he ſuffe-
red himſelfe ſo to be led by their faire words, being perſwaded that
blacke was white, that giuing certaine and indubitable credit vnto
them, he let thē go, nothing caring to prouide for that which might
diſcouer or hinder the enterpriſe, and did not ſo much as ſet a guard
Conſpiratours and ſuſpected perſons are not to be beleeued. at the Ports, neither changed the Captaines, neither commanded
that the Ports ſhould be kept longer ſhut then of cuſtome, neither
ſending out any to diſcouer; and in ſumme prouided for nothing,
but

Manfredi by a wile deliuered himſelfe from the ſiege of Nocerra, and ſeiſed on the kingdome of Sicilie.

Fazelli in the eight booke of his ſecond decade of Sicilie.

A but as a man would ſay, ſleeping at his eaſe, he accounted himſelfe to be in a place moſt ſecure. Wherefore *Aluiano* ſent in great diligence by night his people towards Bibienna; which comming to the gate, were preſently receiued into the towne by the conſpirators: and then the Commiſſarie knew (by the loſſe of the towne) how great an error it is to giue light credit to thoſe which haue the name of conſpirators: and being ſuſpected for ſuch, ought to bee conſtrained and forced to confeſſe the trueth by meanes of torments.

B

CHAP. 22.

It is neither good nor ſure to be too obſtinate, and not to beleeue often aduertiſements giuen by ſundrie perſons.

C I Haue neuer commended nor made account of thoſe, which ouer curiouſlie ſought to know their fortunes and aduentures by Aſtrologers and Southſayers: for that if they prognoſticate ill vnto them, then their mindes are troubled, whether they be vile or valorous: and afterwards if they be to enter into any daungerous action, they thinke that without all doubt that euill muſt needes happen vnto them, which was prognoſticated. I remember there was a Captaine of accompt in the warres, who was to enter into the liſts to fight the D combat with another, and held himſelfe in a manner aſſured of the victorie, ſeeing he had receiued honour in ſeuerall charges, and had made ſufficient proofe both of his vertue and valour. This man had a deſire to ſee the iſſue of this matter vpon *Pythagoras* wheele, which is a vaine manner of diuining, by meanes of numbers and names of thoſe which caſt the lot, and in this wheele is diſtinguiſhed the good and the euill, life and death. It happened vnto this Captaine that his name, ſet by numbers and letters, which are practiſed by him who buſieth himſelfe about ſuch fooliſh vanities, came vnder the place of death, and his aduerſaries vnder the place

It is notable folie to giue much credit to iudiciall Aſtrologie.

of

of life: by reaſon whereof hee was in ſo great feare, and gaue ſuch credit to this lotterie, that perſwading himſelfe that he ſhould dye in this fight, he began to liſten to a parley of agreement; and ſo concluding the matter the beſt that poſſibly he could, he came not to the combat. I hold it not good that a Prince and his people ſhould liſten and apply themſelues to ſuch Southſayings, which may draw them from executing any honourable action. But I ſay alſo, that to be obſtinate in not beleeuing or giuing credit to that which hath beene often foretold him by Aſtrologers, to whom they preſage ſome euill to come, is neither good nor ſure: for that they may foreſee ſome ill inclination of the heauens againſt him, whereof by the helpe of God and mans wiſedome he may be deliuered. They alſo doe not well which make a ſcoffe at a common report, which is in euery mans mouth, without knowing the author thereof: for it ſeemeth that a publike voyce and common brute ſhould be as a diuine forewarning, which ought not to be deſpiſed: and oftentimes a man for not beleeuing of himſelfe that which hath been told euen to his face, hee hath repented that he did not beleeue it, and it hath made him with ſhame, loſſe, and diſhonour to ſay, Truly I thought, &c. And although that to ſuch aduertiſements a man ought not to attribute ſuch certain and vndoubted credit, that he ſhould hold the ſame for diuine oracles: yet ought he not alwaies to ſcoffe and ieſt thereat, but wiſely to prouide for thoſe euils which are threatned againſt vs, and by wiſdome to withſtand the maleuolent aſpect of the Planets and Starres. Notwithſtanding that *Alexander* the great was a worthie and moſt happie Prince, yet failed he herein: for that hee obſtinately deſpiſed the Magitians and Sages of Egypt, which oftentimes perſwaded him to forbeare to enter into Babylon, for if he did, he ſhould there leaue his life: but he contemning their often warnings would needes goe thither; where being poyſoned by *Theſſalus* his Phiſition, he dyed.

A publike voyce is not to be contemned but regarded, becauſe it ſeemeth that what is in euery mans mouth is to be held for a diuine oracle.

Iuſt. lib. 12.

Alexander *the great poyſoned by* Theſſalus *his Phiſition.*

Suetonius in the life of *Cæſar* ſaith, that the diuine *Spurina* did many times tell *Cæſar*, that he ſhould take heede of the day of the Ides of March, which is the 15. day of that moneth, for that then vpon that day hee ſhould be in great danger of death: *Iulius Cæſar* would not giue credit to the ſpeech which ſhe vſed to him, but in going the morning of that ſame day towards the Senate, he met her vpon the way and ſaid vnto her: *Spurina*, wee are now in the 15. day of March, and I am yet aliue. Whereto ſhe anſwered: If the day be come, it is not yet paſt, but tell me this to morrow morning. But *Cæſar*

A *Iar* being entred into the Senate, was preſently ſlaine by *Caſsius* and *Brutus*, and other conſpirators. Whereby it appeared that it had bin better and more expedient for him to haue giuen ſome credit to the Diuine, and by his wiſedome to haue obſerued that day, to ouercome his conſtellation, rather then in deſpiſing her counſell and aduertiſements to tempt his ill fortune, ſeeing that the Diuine had prefixed the certaine day, he by his wiſedome might haue made her a lier. And through the like obſtinacie, in giuing no credit to often aduertiſements of euill, and ſo to take heede thereof, the hiſtories of the kingdome of Sicilie make mention of great daungers foretold

Cæſar ſlaine and maſſacred by Caſsius and Brutus.

B their Kings: as to *William* the firſt of that name called the *Caitiffe*, of whom we reade, that he hauing raiſed to the honor and dignitie of Admirall, a man of moſt baſe and vnnoble race and linage, called *Maion*, hee remained many daies as with a dagger at his throte, for that that the ſame *Maion* aſpiring to the royall dignitie, had to the gouernment of the realme ſo fitted his buſines, that there miſt but a little, that he had not depriued the King of his life and ſeaſed on the Crowne: which he had effected, if he had not been preuented by death. This *William* would neuer beleeue what was told him cõcerning *Maiõ*, how he would haue killed him: but was ſo blinded in his

William the firſt King of Sicilie would neuer beleeue that Maion, a fauourite of his, would haue ſlaine him.

C loue, that although there were moſt manifeſt ſignes of al that which had bin told him, and had found in his houſe (after his death) all the royall habiliments & enſignes new made, to attire himſelfe withall; yet would hee not be perſwaded but that *Maion* had rather cauſed thẽ to be made to giue vnto him, than to any euil end, conſtruing al theſe ſignes to the contrarie, notwithſtanding that he were made (as a man may ſay) to touch the danger with his hand: he loued better to ſuffer himſelf to be led by his blind and fooliſh affection, than by the conſideration of the truth, which was often told him by his true & affectionate friends. And thou friendly reader, if thou wilt know

D the ſottiſhnes of a fooliſh Prince, & the villanie of a wicked ſeruant, reade the hiſtories of Sicilie, written by *Fazelli* in that chapter where he treateth of *William* the *Caitiffe* King of Sicilie. A man ought not too curiouſly to applie himſelfe to the predictions of Aſtrologers, which are often found vaine and falſe, and may draw a man from executing ſundrie faire and good actions; neither would I that a man ſhould too obſtinately deſpiſe them, for that they may foreſee many ill inclinations: but wee ought to gouerne our ſelues in ſuch ſort, that the contempt of them hurt vs not, & that by our wiſedome we may withſtand thoſe euils which are threatned vnto vs.

A man by his wiſdome ought to eſchue and ouercome the euils threatned vnto him by his conſtellation.

CHAP.

CHAP. 23.

The obſtinacie of thoſe which are eſtabliſhed in great authoritie, breedeth many diſorders, which afterwards cannot be remedied.

OBſtinacie is no other thing than a ſetled and firme purpoſe and determination to doe, or not to doe ſome thing: hee which is in this manner reſolute, is not to admit or receiue any counſell, neither to conſider any daunger, but preferring his own raſh opiniõ before the ſound aduertiſements of wiſe and well aduiſed men, to ſhew himſelfe to be a man of little iudgement, and of no experience in the affaires of the world. Such men are the cauſe of many euils, and commit ſo many diſorders, that afterwards, following their owne ill fortunes and aduentures, ouerthrow their enterpriſes, and bring themſelues and others alſo into extreame daunger, and oftentimes cauſe extreame loſſe and ruine. It is but loſt labour to attempt to perſwade ſuch perſons, by reaſon for that they (imagining and preſuming themſelues to know more than all the world beſides) ſtop their eares to all good counſailes, and their eyes to all daungers, ſo as all goeth to wracke. And as an egge by how much the longer it lieth in the fire, by ſo much the harder it waxeth: euen ſo a man who truſteth only to his owne braines, by how much the more you counſell him, by ſo much the more you make him obſtinate. *Monſieur de Lautrech* was Generall for the French King at the ſiege of Naples, and of heart ſo hautie and obſtinate, that although hee manifeſtly ſaw before his face, that the place wherein hee was incamped was neither fit nor holeſome, and that it daily waxed worſe and worſe; yet would hee not depart from thence to chuſe a better, neither for the counſell of his Captaines, neither for the diſcommoditie of the ſouldiers, neither for the death which he ſaw daily before his eyes: ſo that after the loſſe of a great number of ſouldiers, which dyed poore

It is loſt labour to goe about to perſwade obſtinate perſons by reaſon: for the more they are counſelled, the more they perſiſt in their opinion.

A poore and miſerablie (through the corruption of the ayre) in the durt and mire, he himſelfe alſo left his life: and in this manner hee loſt the honour and reputation of the victorie, and was the cauſe that the Kings armie (whereof he was Generall) came to extreame ruine, which had not happened, if (leauing his obſtinacie) hee had giuen eare to thoſe which counſelled him, both for the priuate and publike good. Wherefore our author wiſely ſaith, that it is good to conſider of the diſorders, bred by the obſtinacie of thoſe which are employed in great matters. This obſtinacie maketh men cruell, both againſt others and themſelues alſo: whereof are many ex-
B amples both ancient and moderne, as I haue vnderſtood of certaine gentlemen of Siena, worthie to be beleeued: that in the warres of Siena, there were ſome which in the Senate did propound and declare, that they were reſolued to kill their wiues, their children, themſelues, and to ſet the towne on fire, rather then they would fall into the hands of the Florentines.

Lautrech, *through his obſtinacie, was the cauſe of the totall ruine of the French armie before Naples, and was the occaſion of his owne death.* Guicciar. lib. 4

Moreouer, obſtinacie maketh the obſtinate to be eaſily oppreſſed by their enemies: for knowing their naturall condition, meanes may be eaſily found to offend them, and in fine perſiſting obſtinate without reaſon or iudgement, and ſo conſequently without wit or
C wiſedome, of force they doe euery thing backward, and liuing like fooles and mad men, fall from euill to worſe, and in the end to extreame ruine.

Obſtinacie maketh men cruell both againſt themſelues and others alſo.

CHAP. 24.

Curteſies employed vpon obſtinate enemies are to no purpoſe, but beſtowed in vaine.

WHen a Prince or Common-wealth vndertaketh to wage warre againſt another people, if by chance the obſtinacie to yeeld nothing to the enemie, which moleſteth, enter into the mindes of thoſe againſt whom the warre is made, he which beginneth the warre, muſt reſolue with himſelfe not to vſe any curteſie towards his obſtinate enemie, becauſe that any clemencie or curteſie to be vſed will be in vaine and to no purpoſe: for the nature of obſtinacie is, to loue better to die than to make any ſhew (be it neuer ſo little) of humilitie or giuing place. And although that the obſtinate man ſometime ſeemeth to be humbled (through extreame neceſſitie) yet his heart is not altered: for ſo ſoone as occaſion is offered him, he will ſhew that what he did was done perforce. Wherefore an obſtinate and rude enemie is to bee handled and dealt withall by all rigour and ſeueritie, foraſmuch as gentlenes and curteſie wil neither pacifie him nor aſſwage his furie. Many examples might be alleaged hereof, as of the Saguntines beſieged by *Hanniball*, but I will content my ſelfe with the example of the Piſans, happened in the time of our anceſtors.

An obſtinate man loueth rather to die, then to ſhew but one the leaſt ſigne of humilitie, or of giuing place to his aduerſarie.

The Florentines made long warres againſt the Piſans, and oftentimes vanquiſhed them, and euer vſed them very hardly, and in concluſion they reſolued to inuade and to bring them to their obedience through hunger, and euery yeere ſpoyled their harueſt, and often bereaued them of hope of any for the yeere following, but they made prouiſion from elſewhere. At length the Florentines determined to trie them by gentlenes and clemencie, to ſee if curteſie might preuaile, to the end to leaue nothing vntried: And for this cauſe they made a new law, & ordained that euery citizen or countriman of Piſa, which within certaine time would returne to dwell in his houſe or poſſeſſion in the countrie, ſhould haue free pardon for

A for any thing that he had committed, and ſhould reenter vpon his goods. The Florentines did this in hope to haue drawne many Piſans out of the towne by meane of this law, by which meanes the towne would be weaker, and worſe defended: but their hope failed them, and al happened to the contrarie. For that many which were vnprofitable for the wars, by the conſent and leaue of the reſt went out of Piſa, and the citie remained disburthened, and in part diſcharged of the dearth which oppreſſed them: and thoſe which went forth (no leſſe obſtinate then thoſe which remained within) for the defence of the citie, with their reuenues did ſecretly ſuccour and
B relieue thoſe which remained within; in ſuch ſort, as that they which defended the citie would not yeeld but by force, and thoſe which were abroad by no meanes could be mollified, abhorring nothing ſo much as the name of a Florẽtine. They reſolued to yeeld themſelues to the Genouais, againſt whõ they had ſo often fought for the Seignorie, rather then to yeeld to the Florentines. And for this cauſe all that a man doth, touching an obſtinate enemie, is to no purpoſe: and therefore it auaileth more to deale ſharply and roughly with them, then to thinke to ouercome them by humanitie and ſignes of good will.

The Piſans loue better to ſubiect themſelues to the Genouais their mortall enemies, then to the Florentines, their Lords, neighbours and friends.

C

CHAP. 25.

The ſuſpitions increaſed and made greater by the euill ſpeeches and reports of men in authoritie, is the occaſion that men oftentimes become cruell.

D SVſpition being an opinion of euill, which entreth into our mindes, and corrupteth the good which a man poſſeſſeth or thinketh to poſſeſſe: when this ſuſpition is accompanied with probable and apparant coniectures, or maintainéd through the report of ſome perſonage of credit and authoritie; it may then haue ſuch force in mans hart, as to make him become inraged, inhumane and cruell. When ſuch ſuſpition is entred into Princes, and great Lords which hold eſtates & feare to loſe the ſame, it is eaſie to make them to feele it, and encreaſe and

augment their ſuſpition, chiefly when they are ſtirred, and that the E
flea (according to the common ſaying) is put in their eare, by perſons to be beleeued, which alleage reaſons, with ſome apparance or likelihood of truth. I wil not produce many examples which might be infinit, but this onely ſhall ſerue for a memorable example, written by *Guicciardin*, of *Iohn Bentiuogli* Lord of Bologna, who hauing to his aduantage (by meanes of the King of France) ended his buſines with Duke *Valentine*, and being aſſured that he ſhould not be moleſted by him any more, he began againe to entertaine and to continue the ſuſpition which he bare in himſelfe againſt the houſe of the *Mariſcotti*, which was enemie vnto him, and this ſuſpition F
being augmented by the rapport (whether true or fained) of Duke *Valentine*, who told him in ſecret, yet with a malitious heart, that he was inuited by the houſe of the *Mariſcotti* to approch & draw neere to Bologna: which was the occaſion that *Bentiuogli*, who held the Duke to be a man of credit and authoritie, giuing credit vnto his words, entred into ſo great iealouſie & ſuſpition, that being become very eager and cruell to deliuer himſelfe of this feare, knowing the houſe of the *Mariſcotti* to be rich, mightie, and well followed, determined to rid himſelfe of this corroſiue, by the death of all the *Mariſcotti*, whether they were culpable or innocent. And making his ſon G
Hermes the inſtrument of his cruell determination, he brought it ſo to paſſe, that many of the moſt honorable houſes of Bologna, did with him embrue their hands in the blood of almoſt all the *Mariſcotti* which were in Bologna. This was done by theſe young men, to the end that thoſe honorable houſes, which had ſerued his turne in the execution of ſo great a crueltie (in fauour of *Bentiuogli*) becomming enemies of this noble houſe of *Mariſcotti*, ſhould euer deſire the conſeruation of him and his eſtate, and with all their power helpe to ſupport the ſame. And although Duke *Valentines* purpoſe was to make *Bentiuogli* odious in that citie, he ſhould not haue done H
it by ſuch meanes as might bring his friends in daunger: for that he ought to haue conſidered, that a Prince to maintaine his eſtate is to doe any thing, and to attempt any hazardous enterpriſe, to deliuer himſelfe from his enemies and emulators. When a man ſeeth another man to haue a great ſuſpition of another, he ought not further to inflame him by ill reports, becauſe that the ſuſpitious (to the end to be deliuered of this hart-burning) regardeth not whether the report be true or falſe, but (vſing all meanes to aſſure himſelfe) will attempt any thing, be it neuer ſo hard, vniuſt, dangerous, or infamous.

Iohn Bentiuogli & Hermes his ſonne, through ſuſpition, in one night murthered almoſt all thoſe which were of the houſe of the Mariſcotti, or depending thereof.

CHAP.

A

CHAP. 26.

A man ought not neither in ieſt or by any other meanes to put a Prince in iealouſie of his eſtate, for that it is a matter full of danger.

B

FOraſmuch as Princes concerning their eſtates, are like louers towards their Miſtreſſes; and as for icalouſie they are equal and march with like pace: for as a man may eaſily lodge iealouſie in the heart of a louer; euen ſo may a man with great facilitie put a doubt and ſuſpition into the heart of a Prince, by reaſon of his eſtate. And as he which reuealing to a louer ſomething which may be preiudiciall to his loue, maketh him C vigilant and watchfull, carefully to take heede to euery thing that paſſeth: euen ſo thoſe which put their Prince in doubt and ſuſpition of a conſpiracie, inſurrection, or depriuing him of his eſtate or ſuch like, put him in moſt extreame great trouble of minde, make him make ſudden and extraordinarie preparations, & oftentimes to take offenſiue reſolutions. But as a louer being certified, that all that which was told him of his beloued was fained & a lie, he iuſtly turneth all his wrath & indignation againſt thoſe which gaue him this hammer of ſuſpition: euen ſo a Prince ſeeing in the end, that that which was told him of the danger of his eſtate was falſe and forged, D is with iuſt cauſe diſpleaſed with him who put him to this trouble, and puniſheth him accordingly. In the yeere 1566. *Alexander Bon* a gentleman of Venice, through a vaine plot and enterpriſe put the whole Common-wealth of Venice in doubt and ſuſpition of a reuolution of their eſtate: but he miſt to effect with his honour that which he pretended. This man hauing once deceiued the Senate, in caſe of reuealing of ſecrets of importance, and thereby got money; and the practiſe ſucceeding well, he practiſed the ſecond time to doe the like: for hee was a man of great expence, and wanting meanes ſufficient to maintaine that greatnes, which he deſired, with

A comparison betweene a louer and a Prince.

his owne reuenue onely; he imagined how he might draw money E
from the Seignorie, putting it in iealouſie of the eſtate, with hope
thereby to get ſome good round ſumme to relieue his neceſſitie,
and to maintaine him in that credit which he vainly procured. And
hauing put in certaine places of the citie good ſtore of armour and
furnitures, he wrote a letter (as though written to himſelfe) without
any name ſubſcribed, and with this letter went to the Senate, and
gaue the Lords to vnderſtand how that hee knew for certaine, that
within that citie there was ſome practiſe pretended to the daunger
and preiudice of the Common-wealth, whereof much euill would
enſue, if there were not ſpeedie order taken, and that to this effect F
there were many men in the citie, hourely attending oportunitie,
and that in certaine places there were armes hidden, ſo farre as that
the Enſignes were alreadie made therewith to ouerrun the towne:
and that hee was aduertiſed hereof, by perſons of authoritie, that
they ſhould take heede, for very ſhortly there would bee ſome
Commotion, which would put the ſtate in great daunger of altera-
tion. The Senatours grew into great ſuſpition, nothing deſpiſing
the ſecret aduertiſements of one of their Gentlemen, but cauſed
the ſtreetes neere the place to be Barricadoed, they put men in
Armes to guarde the Pallace, and brought two Galleyes to the two G
pillers of the great Channell, whoſe prows were bent towards
the Pallace, and at night the Towne was all in Armes and greatlie
troubled through this feare. In the meane ſeaſon, the Ambaſſa-
dours of the States aſſembled themſelues, and aſſured the Lords,
that their Princes were in friendſhip, and had good correſpon-
dence with their Common-wealth and Seignorie; and that of their
parts they needed not to doubt. There was much to doe to auerre
the ſignes and ſhewes which *Alexander* had giuen, and although
that there were ſomething found; yet did it plainelie appeare that it
was but a baite and a meere forgerie. Wherefore by iuſtice he was H
committed to priſon, & being but brought to the Racke he confeſ-
ſed the whole trueth of all, ſaying, that ſeeing he was much indeb-
ted, and had no meanes to make payment, he thought to put the
Senatours in ſuſpicion of the State: as if that by his meanes ſome
great conſpiracie had been diſcouered, and a preſent hurt and dam-
mage preuented; he hoped in recompence from the Seignorie to
haue had ſome good ſumme of money with an yearely penſion.
Wherefore he was by iuſtice puniſhed, and ſuch correction vſed
as his audacious preſumption did ſerue: for he hindred it not, but
that

A that the Citie of Venice might haue fallen into ſome great miſhap, and for that the leaſt mouing and trouble, yea euen a particular queſtion is enough to breede a great diſorder and ſedition. Let no man therefore for any matter concerning himſelfe, put Princes in ielouſie of their eſtates, becauſe that when the deceit ſhall be diſcouered, the Prince hath iuſt cauſe to diſcharge his diſpleaſure vpon the author thereof.

B

CHAP. 27.

VVhich a man may conſider by the doings of Duke Valentine, *who hauing requeſted paſſage and victuals of the Florentines, ſet forwards and marched on with his armie, without attending their anſwere.*

C THe Duke *Valentine* hauing had happie ſucceſſe with the Townes in the territorie of Rome, which he bereaued from their Gouernours, and being vnable to doe any thing to *Iohn Bentiuogli*, becauſe hee was in the French Kings protection, he determined with his armie to take his way towards Florence, hoping through the ill gouernment thereof to ſeiſe vpon ſome Towne of that Seignorie; or elſe with the aſſiſtance of the Florentines to driue the Lord of Piombin out of his eſtate. Hauing taken this reſolution, he marched through the Bou-
D lougnois towards Florence, vſing ſmooth and amiable ſpeeches, according to his cuſtome he ſent to the Florentines, deſiring them to graunt him paſſage & victuals. But conſidering that if he waited for an anſwere, which would be well conſidered of by the Senate, who would be well aduiſed, it might much hinder his purpoſes, and euen make fruſtrate his deſſeignes: wherefore he determined boldly to march forwards without ſtaying for anſwere. And ſo being vpon the way with his Armie, hee entertained the Ambaſſadours which by the Florentines were ſent to him, with faire words, vntill he came to Barberin, where changing his mild gentlenes into ſharp

A Captaine, through boldnes and diligence oftentimes obtaineth that which by mildnes he ſhould neuer attaine vnto.

rigour, he obtained of them what he would. Whereby a man may perceiue, that ſometimes that is obtained by boldnes of ſpirit and conſtant reſolution, which by ordinarie meanes would neuer be graunted: for that whileſt that he who is ſued vnto deliberateth, there may growe ſome let and hinderance; and likewiſe in conſulting and conſidering of the matter, he may reſolue with himſelfe not to graunt what is demaunded: and by this meanes warres and troubles ariſe, which breake off the deſſeignes. But when a man ſheweth himſelfe bolde and audacious, and giueth him that is ſued vnto no leaſure to ſtudie and deliberate on the thing demaunded, the ſuddenneſſe of the matter preſenteth before him the preſent danger in deferring or denying to yeeld to that which is required: and ſo a man ſhewing himſelfe hardie and bolde, commeth to obtaine that which he deſireth. The Earle of Foix ſerued his turne in this manner, who being at Bologna, was aduertiſed of the rebellion of Breſſe, and marching forwards to make a conqueſt of that towne, he reſolued to take the next and ſhorteſt paſſage through the Seignorie of Mantoua: and ſo hauing vpon a ſudden taken this way, at the very inſtant he ſent word to the Marques that he would paſſe through his Countrey, whatſoeuer followed, requeſting him to ſend him the keyes of certaine Fortreſſes and places, whereby he
Guicciar.li.10 was to paſſe: wherefore the Marques being taken vpon the ſuddaine, and hauing no leaſure to conſult or thinke vpon the demand of the Lord of Foix, who was alreadie entred and come within his Countrey of Mantoua, he ſent him the keyes of the Fortreſſes, which peraduenture he would not haue done, if the Lord of Foix had vſed but the ordinarie meanes with the Marques, which men vſe, which deſire peaceablie to paſſe through other Princes Countreyes: becauſe that then the Marques had had leaſure to thinke of the matter, and in denying him to ſerue his turne, with ſuch meanes as he had; but conſidering the neceſſitie of the Lord of Foix, who required to paſſe, and the daunger wherein the Marques was at an inſtant, if he denied his paſſage, or deferred to graunt the ſame, he reſolued to let him paſſe, without bringing himſelfe with his eſtate into trouble and danger.

E F G H

CHAP.

CHAP. 28.

Princes and great Lords ought not to deſpiſe thoſe which deſire audience of them, and eſpecially ſuch as may riſe to ſome degree of honour.

B ONe of the faireſt conditions that may be in a Prince, or great Lord, in my opinion, is this, to be gentle and readie to giue audience to ſuch as deſire to ſpeake to him, and principallie to ſtrangers which come to him about affaires: for beſides that, he getteth and winneth to himſelfe the loue and good will of his Subiects, he may eaſilie rid and deliuer himſelfe from the trouble of the aboundance of buſines, which by
C giuing often audience is cut off, either by meanes of grace or iuſtice, according to the qualitie thereof. And thoſe which doe otherwiſe, and doe not willingly giue audience, purchaſe to themſelues much blame and ill will, and thoſe which cannot be heard, ſometimes may ſo thinke thereof, that concealing their diſcontent, when occaſion ſhall be offered, they may be reuenged. And no Lord ought to thinke himſelfe ſo great, but that he may haue need of another man: Wherefore let him diſdaine no man, for fortune (as often it happeneth) may change, and a man may peraduenture be brought to ſo lowe an ebbe, that from him (of whom in former
D time, he hath made ſmall account) he may chaunce to receiue a diſpleaſure: as it happened to *Peter de Medicis*, who (as our author affirmeth, to haue heard by perſons worthie to be beleeued) was not aſſiſted by Duke *Valentine*, to returne againe to Florence, in reuenging of an iniurie receiued of him, refuſing to giue him audience when he was in meaner eſtate. The words of *Guicciardin* are theſe. *Valentin* had no deſire to reſtore *Peter de Medicis* to his Countrey, neither to doe any thing for him, ſeeing that the greatnes of the houſes of the *Orſini* and of *Vitellozo*, vnto which he well knew that *Peter de Medicis* after his returne would be very firmelie conioyned: and

Men happen oftentimes to haue needе of thoſe men which in former time they deſpiſed.

Guicciar. lib.

and moreouer, I haue heard by men of credit, that in his heart was E
ingrauen the remembrance of an ancient olde grudge conceiued
againſt him, when the Archbiſhop of Pampeluna, before he was
promoted to the Sea apoſtolike, ſtudied the Canon Lawe in the V-
niuerſitie at Piſa: for that comming one day to Florence to ſpeake
with him, in a criminall cauſe of a friend of his, after he had many
houres in vaine waited to haue audience of him, being buſied ei-
ther in affaires or pleaſures, without ſpeaking with him he returned
to Piſa, holding himſelfe ſcorned, and therewith much offended.
So farre *Guicciardin*, whereof may be collected, that Princes ought
ſometimes to giue ouer their ſports and pleaſures, to diſpatch an F
honourable Gentleman, which deſireth to ſpeake with them, and a
little to let reſt the courſe of their affaires, to gratifie a Gentleman
with a word or two; for ſuch perſons may in time and place re-
member pleaſures and diſpleaſures receiued. I remember that vp-
on a time I was in a Lords chamber with certaine others his friends,
entred into a pleaſant (although nothing profitable) diſcourſe,
wherein this Lord tooke ſo great pleaſure, that notwithſtanding
that the Porters gaue him to vnderſtand, that there was a Gentle-
man without, who deſired to ſpeake with him about matters of im-
portance, and that we which were within, did intreate him to heare G
and diſpatch the Gentleman; yet was it not poſſible for vs, with all
our prayers and intreaties, to cauſe him to giue him audience:
wherewith this Gentleman much offended, after he had attended a
long ſpace, returned and would rather miſſe of that which he deſi-
red, then returne any more vnto him: and was alſo a man that might
in time and place remember this diſcourteſie and diſdaine, for that
by the laughing which he heard within, he might well know that
the matters in handling were neither ſerious nor of importance.
Let Lords then be more gracious and courteous to heare thoſe
which would ſpeake with them, for by the hundreth part of an H
houres audience, a man may be ſo well contented, as to holde him-
ſelfe perpetuallie beholding for that fauour, and in time and place
to acknowledge the ſame in a greater matter than a few words.

CHAP.

CHAP. 29.

Thoſe eſtates which are not mightie and of power, are not to attempt great and hardie enterpriſes, and their reſolutions are more often taken of force, than of their owne free
B *wils.*



Vicciardin ſpeaketh of two aduentures happened in the Common-wealth of Florence, whereby the Florentines ſhewed that they wanted heart and courage to vndertake any hardie and valorous enterpriſe, and that they were of ſmall iudgement, for the iſſue of their reſolutions made it apparant, that they knew not how to make choyſe and applie themC ſelues to better parties, and that the end of their reſolutions was contrarie to that which they pretended. One of theſe caſes chaunced, in the yeare 1500. when the Florentines with the ayde of *Lewes* the 12. King of France, went to Piſa, hoping with thoſe forces to take it. King *Lewes* the 12. deſired to render Piſa to the Florentines, for that they were bound to pay vnto him fiftie thouſand Duckats vpon the taking and deliuerie thereof: and to this purpoſe the King ſent thither his armie, vnder the leading of the Lord of Beaumont, who although he were a French man borne, yet was ſuch a one as the Florentines greatly truſted. This Generall marched forwards,
D and encamped himſelfe between Caſcina and Piſa, to the end to batter the wals and make a breach, where he marſhalled his troupes to giue the aſſault: and ſtanding in that manner, thoſe of Piſa ſent Ambaſſadours to the Lord of Beaumont, offering to deliuer the Towne vnto the French, and to receiue the French armie into the Towne, vpon this condition, that the King would giue his word, that he would not deliuer the Towne into the Florentines hands, vntil that foure moneths were paſt and fully expired. The Generall propounded this queſtion and condition to the Florentines, who would not accept thereof: wherefore the Towne was battered,

and

and through the obſtinacie of the Florentines and the defenders, E
the end of this warre and ſiege became quite contrary to that which
the Florentines expected: becauſe that being reſolued to haue it ra-
ther by force than quietlie by meanes of the King, in whom they
repoſed much truſt: in the meane ſeaſon, whileſt they were in ſu-
ſpence, betweene the hope of the taking of the Towne, and the di-
ſtruſt of the Kings promiſe, the Florentines were forced to retyre
and giue ouer the enterpriſe and ſiege of Piſa: if the King in effect
had had the Town in his hands, either he had deliuered the Town
vnto the Florentines for their 50000. Ducates, or in not rendring it,
The Florentines through diſtruſting the King of France and the Lord Beaumont his Generall, loſt a moſt fit opportunitie to recouer the Citie of Piſa.
they had known his wil and intention. And this happened through F
want of aduiſe and counſell, they nothing at all conſidering, that it
had been better that the King being within, might haue been able
to giue, than without to promiſe that which he had not: for that
which a man hath in his power, he may more eaſilie giue, than pro-
miſe that which he hath not. Wherefore the Florentines had done
better in conſenting that the Lord of Beaumount ſhould haue ta-
ken and entred into it, vpon ſuch condition and promiſe, than to
employ their forces, the iſſue whereof might be doubtfull, and they
might haue made proofe thereof at any other time. The other caſe
happened in the yeare 1502. in the rebellion of *Arrezzo*, whither G
came *Imbault* to the ayde of the Florentines, with an armie of
French men, who ſome few daies after practiſed an agreement with
Imbault *Generall of the French armie, mocked the Florentines.*
the Aretines, which vpon truſt yeelded vp their Towne to the
French Generall *Imbault*: againſt which the Florentines repugned,
willing that the Towne ſhould be freely rendered, and would by
no meanes accept of the conditions that *Arrezzo* ſhould fall into
the Kings hands, vpon hope that he would redeliuer the ſame. And
Imbault ieſting at their counſell and reſolution, merueiled at the me-
morable ſubtill iudgement of the Florentines, and without atten-
ding other reſolution from their Commiſſioners, he with his forces H
entered into *Arrezzo*, and then gaue the Florentines to vnder-
ſtand, that if they would haue the Towne they ſhould goe to the
French King to demaund it, who being within, and Maſter there-
of, was better able to giue it, than by being without to batter it.
Men forbare not to blame *Imbaults* doings herein, vntill the Towne
was redeliuered. And if the Lord of Beaumont had done the like,
the Citie of Piſa had been eaſilie recouered. So that weake Com-
mon-wealths, for that they know not how to reſolue, neuer take a-
ny good reſolution, except perforce, and ſome other muſt procure
their

A their good and profit, euen againſt their wils. And it may be ſaid, that two things meeting to take one reſolution, to wit, fortune and iudgement, the Florentines in the matter of Piſa, had neither fortune nor iudgement; and in that of *Arrezzo* they had better fortune than iudgement or diſcretion.

CHAP. 30.

B *It is a great fault to truſt him to whom a man hath done any iniurie.*

C NE of the moſt notable follies that can be committed in a Common-wealth or by a Prince, is to repoſe truſt in him, to whom an iniurie hath been done: and the error is by ſo much the greater, by how much more the truſt conſiſteth in matters of great importance, as of honour, eſtate, or of life; and by how much more the iniurie done hath been notable, or the perſon to whom it hath been done, was more honorable. They which thinke that the partie grieued, remembreth not the iniurie receiued, ſeeme to haue ſmall experience of the qualities of men in this age, wherein ordinarilie men vſe rather to remember diſpleaſures than good turnes. And although that *Plato* in his Gorgias, and all the other Philoſophers agree herein, that it is better to receiue an iniurie than to doe it, and that he which offendeth, is more blame-worthie, than he to whom the offence is done; D theſe opinions neuertheleſſe are not accepted amongſt men now a daies, which make no reckoning or account to be held and reputed ſo wiſe, as were the Philoſophers: and ſay, that it is a great diſgrace to receiue any wrong, and that to endure, commeth of the weake faintnes of the heart, and that he is baſe and a coward, which taketh not reuenge: and to the contrarie they affirme, that he which ſuffereth not himſelfe to be wronged, is valorous, he which endureth no outrage, is a braue man, and he which taketh reuenge (early or late) ſheweth that he highly eſteemeth his honour. Many in auncient time haue ſhewed, that they were of that opinion, to wit, that it is an

He which commetteth an iniurie, doth more ſhame and diſhonour himſelfe, than he to whom the wrong is done.

hard matter to indure iniuries; and although they haue not debated E
hereof in ſchooles by bookes, yet they haue oftentimes manifeſtlie
ſhewed it by their Armes and Combats, ſo as oftentimes they haue
taken publike reuenge of ſecret iniuries : and if they haue ſome-
times diſſembled the iniurie or deferred the reuenge, it proceeded
peraduenture from hence, that then it was impoſſible or dangerous
to take it; for a man to ſhew himſelfe grieued and deſirous to doe
ſome outrage, were to giue occaſion to receiue a greater iniurie:
and euery man knoweth that it more auaileth to diſſemble an iniu-
rie, which cannot be reuenged, then by ſeeking reuenge, to incurre
the blame of a raſh foole, and beſides the ſhame and reproch, to re- F
ceiue hurt and dammage. This opinion is firme and ſetled in our
worldlie mindes, that a man wronged or grieued is not worthie of
any honour, if he reuenge it not; in my opinion, then they doe ve-
rie ill, which doe wrong to any, knowing that our heart is ſo gene-
rous, as not able to beare an iniurie, but aſpireth euer to reuenge:
and they doe alſo as ill and worſe, who hauing grieued or done an
iniury to any man, afterwards repoſe their truſt in him, committing
their life and whole eſtate into his hands; I ſay that this fault is ſo
Herod. lib. 1. groſſe and fooliſh, that it may be accounted aboue all the follies of
Aſtyages King of the Medes commanded his nephew to be ſlaine.
the world. And if we ſpeake of auncient hiſtories, *Aſtyages* King of G
the Medes, fell into this error, who hauing vnderſtoode by his
ſouthſayers, that a kinſman of his ſhould bereaue him of his king-
dome, he gaue his nephew, being the ſonne of his daughter, to *Har-
pagus* his Generall, and chiefe Commaunder of his men at Armes,
commaunding him to kill him. *Harpagus* had pittie of the innocent
infant, and would not ſoyle and embrue his hands in his blood, but
left him in a forreſt, to the end that wild beaſts ſhould haue deuou-
red him. The child was found by a ſhepheard, who brought him vp,
and named him *Cyrus* : he was at length known to be nephew to *A-
ſtyages*, & that he was deliuered into the hands of *Harpagus* to the end H
to haue bin murthered. *Aſtyages* was very wroth, & enraged hereat,
and for reuenge he tooke the ſon of *Harpagus*, & cauſed it to be cut in
peeces, and dreſt in ſundrie manners, and giuen to his father to eate.
Harpagus diſſembled this iniurie, as he which wiſely conſidered,
that then to be reuenged was no leſſe difficult than dangerous, but
attending a time, he tooke a notable reuenge. For *Cyrus* being be-
come great, made warre againſt *Aſtyages* his Graundfather by the
Mother, who forgetting the wrong which he had done to *Harpa-
gus*, in making him to eate his owne ſonne, he held him ſtill in the

ſame

A ſame degree of Generall as theretofore,and gaue him the charge of the leading of his armie againſt his nephew. But *Harpagus*,at what time as hee ſhould haue fought, reuolted with the greateſt part of the armie, put him to flight, and depriued him both of his kingdome and his life. This error deſerued a great reprehenſion,to make a man to eate his owne childe,and afterwards to put into his hands both his eſtate and life alſo. The ſame *Herodotus* reporteth,that one *Panionie Sciotte* vſed a miſchieuous and wicked trade of merchandiſe, and liued of moſt infamous and diſhoneſt gaine, which was thus : He bought young children of Sea-rouers,and other theeues

Harpagus *Generall for* Aſtiages, *reuolted from him,ouercame and ſlew him.*

B and robbers,which he made ſlaues,whether they were taken either by ſea or land : and when he ſaw any that were faire, well fauoured, and of good countenance, hee gelded them, and ſold them to the Barbarians for a great ſumme of money : for they make great account of Eunuches, eſteeming them very faithfull, and truſtie in any thing aboue all others. There fell (by chaunce) into the hands of this *Panionie*, a young boy of *Hermotine* of Pedaſe, and hauing gelded him, hee was bought for his beautie and good grace, wherewith he was endowed, and was giuen for a preſent to King *Xerxes*,with whom in ſhort ſpace hee gat ſo great fauour, that hee

Herodot. lib. 8

C was one of the Kings greateſt fauourite. It happened that when *Xerxes* went into Greece in the warres againſt Athens, this *Hermotine* was ſent into Myſia about the Kings affaires : and being arriued at a certaine place inhabited by the Sciots called Artane, hee found there *Panionie*, and after many curteſies and embracements, he told him that he acknowledged to haue receiued from him all the good that he had: for through his occaſion he was raiſed to that greatnes which he now enioyed,and that he would not faile to let him know how much he remembred the pleaſure receiued by his meanes : and if that he would reſolue to goe with his wife and chil-

D dren to dwell with him, he would be glad to haue him neere him, to the end that he might be able to requite him,for the good which he had done him, and for the pleaſure receiued. *Panionie* (forgetting the wrong which he had done to *Hermotine*,in gelding,and ſelling him for a ſlaue) gaue credit vnto his words, and hoping to bring his buſines well to paſſe, hee with his wife and children went thither,where *Hermotine* did dwell. But ſo ſoone as hee was come thither,and that *Hermotine* had him in his power, chaunging both ſpeeches and countenance, hee ſaid vnto him : What diſpleaſure haue I euer done vnto thee,O thou vnhappie man? or what wrong

haſt thou euer receiued of me, or any of mine, that thou to make a E
moſt baſe and diſhoneſt gaine, thou haſt brought me to that point,
that whereas nature made me a man, I cannot now be reckoned in
the number, neither of men nor of women. Didſt thou think that
the Gods did not ſee this thy wickedneſſe and villanie? Didſt thou
thinke that they would long ſuffer ſo great a ſinne and wickednes
eſcape vnpuniſhed? Didſt thou not imagine, that one day they
would deale in ſuch ſort with thee, that thou ſhouldeſt be puniſhed
for this thy barbarous and deteſtable crueltie? Thou ſeeſt now that
by the will of the Gods thou art fallen into my hands: and the pu-
niſhment which I will inflict vpon thee, is not ſufficient to giue thee F
occaſion of griefe and ſorrow, ſeeing it is conformable vnto the
courſe of life which thou haſt euer vſed and followed. And hauing
ended theſe ſpeeches, by force he conſtrained this *Panionie* to geld
his owne children, which were foure, and after hee compelled his
children to geld him. And ſo the vnhappie *Panionie*, for truſting him
to whom hee had done an iniurie, tried and proued the reuenge in
himſelfe, and was forced (in deſpite of himſelfe) to execute it vpon
his owne children.

A notable reuenge taken vpon Panionie Sciotte *by* Hermotine *of* Pedaſe.

But to the end that it may the better appeare, how daungerous a
thing it is for a man to truſt him to whom he had done a wrong, let G
vs come to the examples of Princes and Common-wealths, which
haue been in daunger of ruine, or haue been ruinated through this
occaſion. The Romanes fell into this error, and were likely to haue
borne the penance for ill intreating *Liuius Salinator* at the end of his
Conſulſhip: and many yeeres after they againe choſe and created
him Conſul. And the cauſe why the Romanes ſhewed themſelues
ſo ſeuere againſt *Liuius Salinator*, was, that hauing loſt the occaſion
to oppreſſe the enemie, either through miſhap, or through the fault
of his people, or by ſome other vnhappie accident, the people made
him to be cited and called into iudgement, ſhewing themſelues in H
condemning him, very extreame and euen outragious. This con-
demnation was ſo ill taken by *Liuius*, that to the end that he would
not ſee the Romanes, he went to dwell in the countrie: ſo as he nei-
ther medled with the gouernment, neither had to deale in any mat-
ter of eſtate. Some time after he returned into the Citie, and began
to goe to the Senate, and to entermeddle with matters of the Com-
mon-wealth: wherefore he was againe created Conſul, and march-
ing with the armie in companie of his companion towards the ene-
mie, they deuiſed together what courſe was beſt to be held in this
warre:

A warre: his companion aduiſed him to beare himſelfe wiſely, and to open his eyes, in ſuch ſort that they might not come to blowes but with aduantage. But ſo ſoone (quoth *Salinator*) as I ſhall diſcouer the enemies, and that I ſhall ſee them in face, I will ioyne with them and giue them battaile, in what place ſoeuer I finde them. Whereto his fellow in office replied, ſaying: Wherefore will you doe ſo, and not proceed with aduice, as a ſage and wiſe Captaine ought to do? Becauſe I will (quoth hee) recouer, by the ouerthrow of the enemies, the honour which hath been taken from me by my citizens, or by their death I will be reuenged of the wrong which they haue
B done me: and ſo hauing diſcouered the enemie, he preſently gaue order to fight, and more through the fortune of the Romane people than his wiſedome, he obtained the victorie. If he had loſt the day, he had ſhewed the Romanes what it is to wrong a citizen, and afterwards to giue him charge of importance, and to put into a hart, that is ſwolne with wrath, deſpite and malice, the charge of the publike affaires, and protection of the Empire.

Liuius Salinator *expoſed the Romane armie to manifeſt danger.*

A man may reade in the hiſtories of the Lords of Venice, the like fault committed by that Common-wealth many yeers paſt, which otherwiſe in all their actions hath been wiſe and very well aduiſed:
C and this fault was, that in the yeere 941. a certaine Candian being Prince of Venice, it was granted vnto him to chuſe for his cõpanion in the gouernment his owne ſon: and of three which he had, *Peter*, an inſolent yong man of an euill nature and condition, was choſen: by reaſon whereof the Common-wealth (for his ill behauiour) was conſtrained to baniſh him. This man went to Rauenna to *Berengarius*, by whoſe aide he made warre and did much harme to the Venetians, the which (after that his father was dead, hauing chaunged their opinion, and forgotten the wrong which they had done to him) with little iudgement and leſſe diſcretion they made him
D their Prince, and went to him with about 300. Gondoles to Rauenna: but they preſently repented them of their fault for creating him their Prince, whom they had offended; for *Peter* retained ſtill his euill conditions, dealing very ill with the citie: wherefore the people in great furie ranne to the palace and put fire into it, and hauing cut him and his little ſonne in peeces, they threw them into the Boucherie: which they ought not to haue done, if they had remembred the cauſes for which they had baniſhed him, for they had then let him dye there where his was.

Peter Candian *Prince of Venice for his ill behauiour was ſlaine by the common people.*

In the yeere 1265. *Manfredi* King of Sicilia fell into this error, in

truſting him whom he had iniuried: for being inuaded by *Charles* of Aniou, who by Pope *Clement* the 4. was made King of Sicilie, and comming to blowes with him at Beneuent, hee was ſlaine, and his armie ouerthrowne and put to flight. And the greateſt occaſion of this loſſe, and of the victorie of the French, was attributed to *Iohn Rata* Earle of Caſerta, who in honour was wronged by *Manfredi*, who had violated his wiues honeſtie: and being made a Colonell and Leader of many Companies in this warre, ſeeing the oportunitie, he ſought to be reuenged of a particular iniurie by a publike loſſe: for hauing made a ſecret agreement with *Charles*, he firſt gaue him paſſage into the confines of Naples, and would not fight in the battaile at Beneuent. Wherefore *Manfredi* did ill in giuing charge of importance in his armie to him, whom he had ſo highly grieued in his honour. And although (as ſome ſay) that the hornes which Kings make are Crownes; yet it ought to be conſidered, that euery mans heart is not compounded of like ſubſtance. And when a King or a Prince is diſpoſed to doe an iniurie to his ſubiect or vaſſall, hee ought alſo to make accompt that hee neuer vſe his ſeruice any more in any charge, that may be hurtfull vnto him afterwards, but ought to entertaine him in ſhew, and giuing him ſome honeſt penſion or prouiſion, to hold him farre from him: for when noble harts are grieued, they neuer forget the wrong; and although that for the preſent they haue not the power to be reuenged, yet neuertheleſſe they ſtill retaine the deſire to doe it, and faile not to put it in execution when they haue oportunitie.

E F G

Iohn Rata *Earle of Caſerta, put his Lord* Manfredi *king of Sicilie in extreame danger.*

In the time of our anceſtors, *Charles* Duke of Burgundie incurred the ſame error, who being in a councell of warre with his Captaines, gaue a blow to *Nicolas Campo Bachio*, an Italian Earle, who was in that councell; who, imprinting the iniurie in his memorie, made ſhew many yeers that he regarded it not, attending time and place to be reuenged, which at length came to paſſe: for being entertained by the Duke of Burgundie in his wars, againſt *Rene* Duke of Lorraine, the ſaid Earle *Nicholas*, at the battaile at Nanſci, gaue Duke *Rene* warning that he ſhould make no difficultie to encounter the Duke of Burgundie with the Swiſſers, for that he would come to his aide with his men at armes. The Duke of Lorraine gaue battaile to the Duke of Burgundie, and the Earle *Nicholas* would not once vouchſafe to boudge with his Cauallerie, but turning his Cornet towards France, hee went to the ſeruice of King *Lewes*, reuenging himſelfe, by the death and ouerthrow of his Maſter, of the blow

H

Nicholas Campo-Bachio, *an Italian Earle, to be reuenged betrayed his Maſter* Charles *Duke of Burgundie, and withdrew himſelfe to* Lewes *King of France.*

A blow and iniurie which he had receiued. *Charles* then committed a great fault, to hold in his campe for chiefe of his men at armes, him whom he had ſo grieuouſly offended through follie in choler: and although that the Earle bare the name of diſloyall and a traytor; yet neuertheleſſe hee gaue an example to Princes, and by this fact doth aduiſe them to take heede how they grieue their ſubiects, (eſpecially ſuch as are men of ſpirit and of qualitie) for euer truſting them any more.

The Lord *Peter Strozzi*, a Captaine of great worth in our time, Guicciar. lib. 5
in the defence which he wrote to ſhew the occaſion wherefore he
B was in battaile ouercome, and put to flight by the Marqueſſe of *Marignan*, where ſome Captaines forſooke him, produceth many reaſons: but he concealeth the iniuries done vnto ſome, which he afterwards tooke with him to the warres, to which hee gaue the charge to garde certaine holds, and to commaund certaine men at Armes, for which fault he was publikelie blamed. For there are ſome men which care not by a publike loſſe, to reuenge a priuate iniurie, and ſo as they may effect their purpoſe, they care not what becommeth of the affayres wherein they are employed. And al-
C though that they which forſooke and abandoned him, ought principallie to haue conſidered that they were in the pay of the French King, and not of *Strozza*; yet they cared not for that, prouided that he who had offended them, might loſe his credit and reputation; and whoſoeuer ſhall reade his apologie, ſhall ſee, (though he expreſly ſay it not) yet he noteth and meaneth it, when he ſilentlie ſaith: It is a thing neither honeſt nor honourable, for any to abandon their maſters and friends in their greateſt neede, notwithſtanding there had been ſome occaſion giuen. And to ſpeake vprightly, I ſay that he is much to be blamed that wrongeth another: but after that he perceiueth that he hath done him wrong, humane
D wiſdome doth then will and require him to take heede that he truſt him no more, whom he hath once offended: and if of neceſſitie he muſt reteine him neere about him, or that he haue neede of his ſeruice, he ought ſo well to looke to his affayres, that the euill managing of them may not greatly hurt him; or elſe he ought to holde him farre off from him, with ſome charge that may be of greater apparance in ſhew, than of effect or importance: doing as *Alphonſe* King of Naples did, by *Iacques Piccinino* the ſonne of *Nicholas*, whom he wiſely ayded and relieued as a friend, but kept himſelfe as well from him, as from an enemie.

It is diſhonorable for a man to abandon his friend in time of neede, for any occaſion whatſoeuer.

Chap. 31.

He is not to be blamed, who by policie or induſtrie draweth vnto him pernicious and wicked perſons, to the end to puniſh them for offences alreadie committed, and to ſtop them from proceeding further in their wickednes.

THere are ſometimes ſuch men borne into world, which ſeeme to be borne to no other end, than to the ruine of mankinde: and are ſo full of miſchiefe, and ſo grounded in all kinde of villanie, that when they dye and leaue this world, a man may iuſtly ſay that the world is deliuered and purged of a dangerous plague. Theſe men, or rather monſters than men, no ſooner haue power and authoritie, ioyned to their inclination and deſire to doe ill, but they fall into infinit cruelties, diſordinate deſires, and monſtrous actions. And for that they are nouſled vp, and accuſtomed to do ill, they liue in great vnquietnes, without reſt, when they cannot exerciſe their malice, & alwaies carefully ſeek occaſion to make themſelues knowne what they are, willingly offering themſelues (with great readines) to execute the wicked reſolutions and counſels of others, when they cannot effect their owne purpoſes, hauing by ſome accident loſt the meanes and power to doe ill of themſelues. When the many miſdeeds of ſuch pernicious perſons deſerue puniſhment, all policie and cunning meanes to intrap them is to be vſed: and it is but well done to faile and breake the doubtfull promiſes and aſſurances made vnto them, ſo as they may be puniſhed for the euils which they haue cõmitted, or at the leaſt hindred and kept from committing any more. And although that faith and promiſe ought to be held, yea euen with a mans enemies, and that it is the part of a good and iuſt Prince to hold his word, neuertheleſſe that is to be vnderſtood when the caſes are alike: for when faith is expreſſely giuen, and that ſafegard is granted

When aſſurance and ſafegard giuen to a ma by a Prince is to be maintained, and when not.

A granted vpon the word of a King or Prince, I ſay that ſuch faith is to be maintained and kept, euen with traytors: But when the words which are vſed, and the promiſe made is equiuocent, and may be diuerſly conſtrued, and haue ſundry meanings and interpretations, I ſay that then it is not ill done, for a man to ſerue his turne to his beſt aduauntage vpon ſuch perſons, for that thoſe are a kinde of people which are abſtract (and as a man might ſay) diuided and ſeparated from the eſſence and being of men, and doe participate more with the brutall, than with the humane, and ſo ought to be handled and dealt withall rather as beaſts than men.

B *Gonſaluo Fernandez*, ſurnamed the great Captaine, knowing the moſt wicked inclination of *Valentine*, and how pernicious he had been to all Italie, ſo long as abilitie was ioyned with his ill diſpoſition, drew him vnto him by a ſafeconduct, vnder aſſurance whereof, ſo ſoone as he had him in his power he ſent him priſoner into Spaine. After the death of *Alexander* the ſixt, *Valentine* liued in baſe fortune, which nothing altered his olde condition, for he perſwaded *Gonſaluo* to inuade Piſa with his forces both by Sea and by Land, to the end to trouble and make warre againſt the Florentines, for the ſeruice of his King. *Gonſaluo*, which very well knewe
C the terrible inclination of this cruell man, and remembring the miſchieues and cruelties vſed by him, while he had meanes to execute the ſame: thought that it ſhould be a good deede to free Italie from this beaſt, which alreadie had ſo tormented it, and againe ſought to bring it into trouble. Wherefore ſending him a ſafeconduct, and entertaining him with a ſhew of much kindnes, feeding him with hopes and promiſes, and while as he conſulted and deuiſed with him of matters of importance, vpon the plottes and ſtratagems which hee had in hand, hee had leaſure to write to the King of Spaine, what he thought fit to be done with this peſtilent man: and
D receiuing an anſwere according to his deſire, hee tooke away his ſafeconduit, and ſent him priſoner into Spaine: And as *Valentine* complained that faith and promiſe was not held with him, *Gonſaluo* wiſely anſwered, that ſeruants hands and writings ſerue to no purpoſe, and are of no effect and valew, without the conſent of their Maſters, and therefore this ſafeconduct could not ſerue his turne, ſeeing his Emperour had otherwiſe determined contrarie to his deſire. And *Valentine* being arriued in Spaine, attended on by one Page onely, he was committed priſoner to the Caſtle of Medina del Campo, and eſcaping from thence, he went into Nauarre to King

Guicciar. lib. 6

Valentine *cunningly entrapped by* Gonſaluo Fernandes, *and ſent priſoner into Spaine, and there kept priſoner in the Caſtle at Medina del Campo.*

King *Iohn*, with whom liuing many yeares in baſe fortune, he dyed E
at Viana a Caſtle of no account in that Kingdome, more like a priuate Souldier, than a Captaine of honour and reputation. And by like meanes and cunning, Pope *Leo* drew vnto him *Iohn Paul Baglione* to puniſh him for his miſdeedes, as he indeed puniſhed him: and anſwered to ſuch as ſaid that he had deceiued him with his promiſes, that a man did neuer deceiue the wicked when they were puniſhed: but a man might well ſay that they were couſoned and deceiued when they were let goe, and eſcaped vnpuniſhed, and ſuffered to liue, which deſerued not the benefit of life.

F

CHAP. 32.

That a Man, be he neuer ſo wicked, doth not euer all the ill which is in his power to doe, no although he haue a will and deſire to doe the ſame.

G

OVr author, & ſome other writers alſo, haue noted the great reſolution of Pope *Iulius* the 2. when he came into Peruſa vnarmed, and the forbearance & abſtinence of *Iohn Paul Baglione*, that he had not helde him priſoner with all his court: and doe maruell that *Iohn Paul* had not made it ſound and knowne through the worlde, in a matter of ſo great falſhood and treaſon, which had already defamed and diſhonoured his name in matters much leſſe. So as, for this cauſe, they ſay and inferre thereof, that no man is throughly good, nor throughly wicked: and becauſe I will not leaue this conſideration vntouched, I ſay onely, that Pope *Iulie* did truely ſhew the greatneſſe of his heart, and his great courage, by putting himſelfe and all his Court in ſo manifeſt a danger, repoſing truſt in him, who had the report and name, to be moſt cruell and a traitour, who knew well, that the Pope came to Peruſa, to the end to driue him out of that Seignorie, and to take from him the authoritie poſſeſſed for the ſpace of a hundred yeere in that Tower by the houſe of *Baglione*. A man cannot iuſtly ſay that *Iohn Paul*

H

No man is abſolutely good, nor altogether wicked.

A *Paul* did forbeare to detaine the Pope priſoner with all his court, for the zeale of religion, neither for the remorſe of conſcience, neither to auoid the diſhonour to haue oppreſſed the head of the Church of Rome: for that being already loden with many crimes and miſdeeds, he might haue added this to the reſt for the laſt, and for one no leſſe to be noted then any of the reſt. And I ſay that *Baglione* might haue beene wicked and haue ſtricken this blow, but I hold it not to be ill ſaid, in affirming that he carried himſelfe moſt wiſely, in not doing it: and ſome ſay that hee was induced and led by many reaſons to abſtaine and forbeare, to commit ſo great a villanie, as a-
B ny man may know that will with iudgement read *Guicciardin.* Firſt I ſay that *Baglione* had reaſon, and ſhewed witte in not doing it, becauſe that hauing receiued good vſage and fauour of the Pope in Oruieto; and knowing his nature eaſilie to be appeaſed, towards him which humbled himſelfe, he might hope that he ſhould not be ſo ill intreated, as that he ſhould haue occaſion to complaine. Secondly, he might conſider that the duke of Vrbin and other Lords (vpon whoſe promiſe he went to ſee the Pope) would haue become his enemies, if he had committed ſuch a fact, and his two ſonnes, which were in the hands of the Duke of Vrbin for oſtage
C and pledge of his promiſe, might haue borne the penance and puniſhment for their Fathers fault. Thirdly, he might alſo conſider that the Pope being armed (although he were not ſo within that Towne) and hauing the French King and his neighbour forces at commaund, he ſhould haue purchaſed a warre, which would haue been his totall ruine and ouerthrowe, for all the Princes of Chriſtendome would haue been moued againſt him; the perſon of the Pope being (in that time) more reuerenced than doubted or feared. And finallie he might conſider, that it were better for him to obſerue and imbrace the Popes preſent friendſhip, (who ſeemed to
D haue great confidence in him) then by deteyning him priſoner, to put himſelfe in daunger to be accounted treacherous and diſloyall, ſo as from thenceforth no man would haue held any promiſe with him: and by the death and ruine of him and his, and peraduenture with ſpoyle of his countrey to haue rendred and made reſtitution of all: and ſome would peraduenture ſay, that God hauing care of his vicar in earth, had turned the hearts of Princes, and ſuffered him not to ſee the ill which he might haue done, the hearts of Princes being in the hands of God, to turne and alter them at his good pleaſure. But ſuch diſcourſes and conſiderations are not to be vſed,

for

for feare to make thoſe which already are wicked to become worſe. E
Euen ſo it ſhall be well done, to aduiſe honeſt and good men to take heede how they ſo eaſily yeeld themſelues for a pray vnto thoſe which are wicked, by reaſon whereof they may incurre ſuch or greater daungers than the Pope did, as before is ſaid, who in truth was very venturous and reſolute : and *Baglione* bare himſelfe as a wiſe Prince, notwithſtanding that it was in him to haue done otherwiſe : but hee conſidered that wiſedome and good dealing would ſupport him, and the contrarie would be his ruine : and ſo it may be coucluded, that hee might haue been diſloyall if hee had would, but he would not for the reaſons abouesaid. F

CHAP. 33.

That enterpriſes executed by the perſwaſion of Rebels and baniſhed men, are dangerous, and ſeldome come to good end.

G

VCh men as are baniſhed from their countrie, haue ſo great deſire to returne thither againe, that being alwaies in hope, they promiſe both to themſelues and to others alſo great matters : and ſeeking alwaies waies and meanes to recouer their countrie, they hazard and aduenture themſelues in euery deſperate actiō, be it neuer ſo hard and doubtfull, and hauing but two things to loſe, to wit, life and goods, they expoſe both the one and the other to attaine to their deſire. And moreouer, when H
they finde (as ſome ſay) a mans ground ſoft, who vpon their hopes and promiſes will vndertake to ſettle them againe in their countrie, you will not beleeue in how many bands they will engage their faith, and with how many promiſes and perſwaſions they ſtirre vp and ſpurre men forwards to attempt the deſired enterpriſe. But afterwards when a man commeth to the triall of the matter, and that they recouer their countrie by any other meanes than thine, they wil faile of their faith: ſo as the promiſes grounded vpon incertaine hopes, being found vaine and miſsing effect, thou knoweſt with

ſhame,

A ſhame,and often with loſſe, how vaine and weake the foundations were,and how deceitfull they were by whom thou waſt perſwaded to put their practiſes in execution. We haue hereof two examples, the one ancient in *Titus Liuius*, the other moderne in our author: the one appertaineth to the want of faith in baniſhed men:and the other concerneth the vanitie and falſenes of their promiſes. *Titus Liuius* declareth, that when *Alexander* the great paſſed with his armie into Aſia, *Alexander* King of Epire, or Albania, his kinſman, went with a great power into Italie, whither he was called by certaine baniſhed men called Lucains (now the people of Baſilicate) *A Prouince in the Kingdome of Naples.*
B who put him in hope (by their meanes) to poſſeſſe the whole Prouince,and ſware neuer to abandon him. *Alexander* the Epirote was induced by the othes and promiſes of the Lucains, and being arriued in Lucania,the inhabitants there promiſed to call home and reſtore their baniſhed men to their countrie, vpon condition that they would kill *Alexander*. Wherefore in hope to repoſſeſſe their countrie, they ſlew the Albanian King, falſifying their othes and promiſes made vnto him: and ſo will all they doe which binde themſelues by oth, to him which ſhall promiſe to reſtore them to their libertie in their owne houſes: ſo great is their deſire to returne
C thither. That it is very inconuenient to be induced or moued by the greatnes of their promiſes, wee haue infinit examples in the hiſtories: for baniſhed men ordinarily promiſe much,and cunningly faine many things, ſo as they ſtuffe a man with hopes, and prouoke him to execute their deſſeignes, which in the end turne to the great diſhonour and loſſe of him who putteth them in execution.

Alexander, *King of the Epirotes,ſlaine by the Lucains, being baniſhed from their Countrey whom he ſought to reſtore.*

Themiſtocles being baniſhed from Greece, by his promiſes and perſwaſions induced *Artaxerxes* to make warre againſt it: but *Themiſtocles* being vnable to maintaine and hold his promiſe to *Artax-*
D *erxes*, for ſhame, or feare of puniſhment, poyſoned himſelfe: by which reaſon,this enterpriſe was pernicious and deadly hurtfull to *Themiſtocles*, who procured it, and ſcandalous and exceeding chargeable to *Artaxerxes*, who by his perſwaſion put it in execution.

Themiſtocles *poyſoned himſelfe.*

Of later time the Lord of Chaumont, Generall for the King of France in Italie,a perſonage of great vertue and authoritie, through the perſwaſiō of thoſe of the houſe of the *Bentiuogli*,was induced to goe to Boulogne to reſtore them againe into the Citie,and there to haue ſuppreſſed Pope *Iuli* the ſecond. But the promiſes which the

The hopes of baniſhed men are more meaſured with deſire than reaſon.

Bentiuogli made prouing to be vaine, who hoped and promiſed that the common people and the gentlemen would haue riſen & taken armes in their behalfe, he returned with diſhonour, hauing ſhewed himſelfe ill aduiſed and indiſcreete, to ſuffer himſelfe to be led by the counſell of baniſhed men, to attempt ſo great an enterpriſe, whoſe hopes being meaſured with deſire more then with reaſon, moſt commonly end in vanitie, whereof at the firſt they were compounded. Wee might bring forth many other examples of later time, but the matter is ſo cleere and manifeſt, that it needeth no great conſideration, it ſhall ſuffice me to aduiſe euery Prince, that he be not too ouer haſtily moued by the perſwaſion of the baniſhed: for that it agreeth not with his honour, either for the regard of the fickle incertaintie of their faith, or the vanitie of their promiſes grounded in the ayre, through too vehement deſire.

CHAP. 34.

The faults committed by the fauourites and kinſmen of Princes, are oftentimes puniſhed in the perſons of thoſe Princes which tolerated thoſe faults, and not on them which committed the ſame.

Princes haue needs of many things, and of the ſeruice of many perſons.

PRinces being men as others are, of force haue needs of many things, and to be furniſhed with ſuch men, as with whom they may liue and conuerſe familiarly: and theſe fauourites enter ſometimes into ſo great and priuate familiaritie with them, that they determine to follow their fortune: and when the eſtate of the Prince is in danger, they alſo participate of the daungers and accidents. Wherefore ſuch men ought to be partakers of the proſperities, and held by the Princes in honorable places and degrees, being a deede of gratulation; wherewith no man ought to be grieued, neither to be offended, though the parēts and fauourites of Princes bee held neere vnto them, in ſuch ranke and degree as they deſerue. Yet neuertheleſſe the Prince ought to take

A take heede, that they take not ſo much authoritie and ſtate vpon them, as that they may or dare preſume to vſe violence to any man, without feare of puniſhment: for that ſhould be a meane to make him vicious, which ought to maintaine vertue, and (as ſome haue ſaid) to reward vertue by the meanes of vice: which a wiſe and well aduiſed Prince ought not to endure. Therefore when a Prince perceiueth that one of his fauourites or kinſmen becommeth ſo bold and inſolent as to wrong any man, and doth it, preſuming vpon his conſanguinitie or familiaritie, he ought not to ſuffer it, but to ſhew himſelfe grieued and diſpleaſed, and in ſome ſort to chaſten him,
B and ſatisfie him that is wronged: otherwiſe it is to be doubted that the partie grieued, may be induced to reuenge the iniurie rather vpon the Prince, who hath winked at it, then on his parent or fauourite which hath done it: As it happened to *Phillip* King of Macedon, who was ſlaine in the middeſt of his armie, in the preſence of his ſonne in law and of his ſonne, by a young man called *Pauſanias* a Macedonian. This yong man had receiued an iniurie by an eſpeciall friend of *Phillips* called *Attalus*: by reaſon whereof, the young man was mocked and pointed at with the finger by euery one. Wherefore *Pauſanias* complained to the King of this fact, and re-
C quired reuenge of the vnworthie iniurie receiued: but the King was ſo farre from accepting his demaund, that hee mockt him alſo as well as the reſt. Wherewith *Pauſanias* being much moued, conuerted that deſpite and hatred againſt the King himſelfe, which hee had conceiued againſt *Attalus*, and reſolued to take reuenge not vpon *Attalus* which had done it, but vpon the vniuſt King, who had not reuenged it. And ſo vpon a time, when it fitted beſt for his purpoſe, occaſion and oportunitie preſenting themſelues vnto him, he ſlew the King, notwithſtanding that his ſonne, and ſonne in lawe were preſent.

Pauſanias *murthered* Philip *King of Macedonia his ſouereigne Lord.*

D In the time of our anceſtors, in the yeere 1506. there was nothing (as *Guicciardin* writeth) that moued *Don Iulius D'eſté*, baſtard ſonne of *Hercules* Duke of Ferrara, to conſpire againſt Duke *Alfonſo* his brother, but that he conceited that Duke *Alfonſo* ſeemed not to be diſpleaſed with the iniurie done to him by the Cardinall *Hippolito*, who had cauſed his eyes to be pluckt out: the words of the author are theſe: The ſame yeere that the tragedie was begun before Ferrara, there happened a new and troubleſome accident: for *Ferdinand* brother of Duke *Alfonſo*, and *Iulius* naturall or baſtard brother of the ſaid Duke, (whoſe eyes the Cardinall had cauſed to be pluckt

Guiccia. lib.

Ferdinand *and* Don Iulius *conſpire againſt* Alfonſo *Duke of* Ferrara.

out, and made them to be put in their place againe, without loſſe of his ſight, by the quicke and carefull care of the Phiſitions) conſpired together to put the Duke to death, *Ferdinand* which was the ſecond ſonne, in hope to poſſeſſe the ſtate, and *Iulius* for that it ſeemed vnto him that *Alfonſo* regarded not the iniuries done vnto him by the Cardinall, and for that he expected not otherwiſe to be able to be reuenged on him. See what *Guicciardin* ſaith. By which words it may be gathered, that the intention of *Don Iulio* was to ſtirre more againſt the Duke, who had diſſembled the wrong and outrage done vnto him, then againſt the Cardinall the author of the iniurie. Wherefore let Princes take heede that they ſuffer not their fauourites and kinſemen to be ſo bold, that they dare to doe what pleaſe them, without feare of puniſhment, and ſeeme not to ſee the wrongs which they doe, becauſe that in ſo doing they themſelues are in danger to beare the penance for the faults of others.

Chap. 35.

It is a thing very dangerous for a Prince or Common-wealth, not to reuenge a publike iniurie.

WE haue ſaid in the laſt chapter how dangerous it is for a Prince to leaue vnpuniſhed the iniuries committed by his parents and familiars, againſt ſome priuate perſon: now in this chap. we will ſhew, that the ſame danger hangeth ouer him, which ſuffreth to eſcape vnpuniſhed iniuries done againſt a publike, as is a Citie, or a Nation, or ſuch like: for our hart is naturally ſo generous and noble, that when it is wronged, it is highly grieued and the diſpleaſure cauſeth men to take ſuch reſolutions, as may be very hurtfull to thoſe which are of power and able to reuenge publike iniuries, and doe it not. Whereof we haue two examples of the Romanes, the firſt in the time that *Romulus* and *Tatius Sabinus* were Princes of the Citie of Rome, as *Plutarch* writeth.

Plutarch *in the life of* Romulus.

In the fourth yeere of the raigne of *Tatius* the Ambaſſadours of the

A the *Laurentins* came to Rome about certaine buſineſſe concerning the Publike: and as they were trauelling on their iourney, certaine friends and kinſemen of *Tatius* aſſaulted them vpon the way, in maner of theeues, to take their purſes, with ſuch money as they had: And the Ambaſſadours ſtanding in their defence, making reſiſtance, were ſlaine by the Romanes. The *Laurentins* complained to *Romulus* and *Tatius* of this iniurie, requiring that the theeues and murtherers ſhould be puniſhed: but *Tatius* who was ſo farre from puniſhing and reuenging the iniurie, that hee not onely pardoned the offenders, but ſet them at libertie, againſt the will of *Romulus*,
B who rather would that they ſhould haue been ſharplie puniſhed. The *Laurentins* were much offended and diſcontent hereat, waiting oportunitie to be reuenged, and vpon a day they followed King *Tatius* which went to doe ſacrifice, and while as he was buſie about his ceremonies they ſlue him. So as for not reuenging and puniſhing the wrong done to the perſons of the Ambaſſadours (which are euery where held for holy, reuerend, and inuiolable) he purchaſed the death which he deſerued: which had not happened vnto him, if he had puniſhed the publike iniurie, as he ought to haue done. The ſecond is this, that the French, which are now cal-
C led Lombards, inuaded Tuſcane, and particularlie the Citie of Chiuſi: wherefore the Chiuſins ſent to deſire ayde and ſuccour of the Romans, amongſt which it was determined, that the three Fabians ſhould goe to the French, and require them to forbeare to make warre againſt the Tuſcanes. Theſe Ambaſſadours being arriued where the Armies were, and being better men of their hands, than of their tongues, and ſeeing the French and the Tuſcanes together by the eares, they ranged themſelues in the firſt poynt to fight againſt the French, in the behalfe of the Tuſcanes. Where being knowne by the French, they turned all their wrath and diſpleaſure
D againſt the Romanes, which they before had conceiued againſt the Tuſcanes: and this diſpleaſure grew in this, that the French hauing framed a complaint by their Ambaſſadours to the Senate of Rome, requiring that the Fabians ſhould be deliuered into their hands, to be puniſhed: but the Romanes were ſo farre from deliuering or puniſhing them, that when the time came to create new Magiſtrates, they were made Tribunes, with Conſularie dignitie. Wherefore the French, ſeeing them raiſed to dignitie and great honour, which they deſired to haue ſeene puniſhed, and aſſuring themſelues, that that which was done, was done in deſpite of them; full ſwolne with

The Laurentins *in reuenge of the iniurie done to their Ambaſſadours ſlue* Tatius *king of the Romanes.*

wrath and furie, they ſuddenly leuied a mighty army, and by aſſault E
tooke Rome, the capitoll onely excepted, which they grieuouſlie ſpoyled. This ruine befell the Romanes, for no other occaſion, but becauſe that they would not puniſh an iniurie done vnto a whole nation, and for violating publike iuſtice. Let euery Prince and Commonwealth then, make reckoning of publike iniuries, and do reaſon and iuſtice to the partie wronged and grieued, if they will not by publike and particular ruine beare the penance of their iniuſtice: and let not Princes thinke, but that he which is grieued, will vſe all meanes to be reuenged, to their loſſe and danger; if they thinke otherwiſe they will be deceiued in their imaginations. F

CHAP. 36.

He that is in proſperitie ought not to reproue him that is fallen from good to euill fortune, for that he little knoweth what may happen to himſelfe. G

THere is a certaine kinde of men in the world, who ſo long as fortune fauoureth them, thinking that this fortune will neuer faile, eſteeme themſelues to be ſo wiſe and prouident, that they cannot decay: and if by chaunce there come before them a man who by misfortune is fallen from ſome great eſtate, and become poore, and of low degree, preſently as though they were the onely men that knew how to gouerne well, either H
they reprehend him for ill gouernment, or charge him with daſtardie and cowardiſe, and that he did not take iuſt reuenge, accounting him fearefull and of little ſpirit. But afterwards when misfortunes happen to themſelues, (forgetting the reprehenſions by them vſed to others) they ſhew themſelues more fearefull and worſe aduiſed than thoſe whom they before reproued. *Iohn Bentiuogli* Lord of Boulogne in the warres and misfortunes of Italie, in the time of *Charles* the 8. King of France, behaued himſelfe in ſuch ſort, that he preſerued his eſtate, and liued peaceablie: but the like happened not

A not to *Peter de Medicis*, who was as it were Lord of Florence; for hauing conſigned the Fortreſſes of Serezana and Serezanel, to the King of France, he purchaſed the hatred of the Common-wealth of Florence, and was driuen out of the Countrey and proclaymed rebell; who went to Boulogna, and was receiued by *Iohn Bentiuogli*, who at the firſt ſight ſharpely reproued him, for that, that without ſtriking one blow with his ſword, and without the death of any one man, he had forſaken ſuch and ſo great eſtate; which he ſaid was preiudiciall vnto him, and was an ill preſident for all thoſe which would oppreſſe the libertie of their Countrey: and wiſhed that
B *Peter* had bin a man of more courage, and of a greater ſpirit and wiſdome, and to haue ſhewne a more greatnes in his gouernment than he had done. But afterwards when the ſame *Iohn Bentiuogli* in the time of Pope *Iulius* the ſecond, began to proue ill and contrarie fortune, (which depriueth men of their wits and iudgement) and that the Pope chaſed him out of his eſtate, he knew then, that men in contrarie accidents and misfortunes, cannot reteyne that greatnes of courage which they had in time of their proſperitie: and then perceiue that when they were fortunate, they did wrongfullie reprehend others of feare and ill gouernment. For the Lord of Boulogna, ſeeing himſelfe inuaded by the Pope with a mightie armie,
C and ſeeing the Lord of Chaumont, Generall of the French armie in his ayde, to driue him out of the eſtate, hauing loſt both courage and counſell, without ſo much as vnſheathing his ſword, and without ſhedding one drop of blood, hee went out of Boulogna, with his Wife and Children to Milan; leauing Boulogna free to the Pope and to the Church of Rome. So he ſeemed not to remember the reproach which he had vſed to *Peter de Medicis*, neither had he that greatnes of courage and force in himſelfe which he deſired to haue been in another: and left for example, that no man ſhould
D mocke nor reproue him which is fallen from proſperitie to aduerſitie, for that no man knoweth what may happen to himſelfe, neither knoweth whether in his troubles and aduerſities, he ſhall reteine that force of courage, which he would haue ſeene in another.

Guicciar. lib. 1

A man cannot retaine that greatnes of courage in aduerſitie, which they ſhewed in the beginning of their proſperitie.

CHAP. 37.

That mightie Common-wealths and excellent perſonages ought not to be blamed, although they giue place to the force and oppreſſion of fortune.

FOraſmuch as I know well, that many haue blamed the Lords of Venice, becauſe that in the yeare 1508. they were vanquiſhed and put to flight at Vaila, and were in a manner at a point to haue yeelded vnto the Empyre all the maine land: I haue thought it a matter not altogether vnprofitable to conſider a little, and by peecemeale to examine the manner of their carriage and proceeding in that caſe; and to ſhew that they were not ſo blameworthie as many would make them. Amongſt all them which blame them, the moſt ſharpe and vehement is the Authour of the diſcourſe vpon *Titus Liuius*, an Authour trulie, both graue and honourable, who by words a little too large and vehement, tearmeth them weake, baſe minded, inſolent, and of ſmall iudgement: for this cauſe I will endeuour my ſelfe to ſhew, (without offence to this Authour) that the Lords of Venice, haue not deſerued in their doings to bee ſo much blamed and mocked by him: and whoſoeuer ſhall proceede as they haue done, bee it a Prince, or Common-wealth, cannot iuſtlie be tearmed, weake, inſufficient, nor leſſe excellent then before. This Authour in the beginning, ſhewing the baſeneſſe and negligence of the Venetians, maketh this concluſion: That excellent men, and mightie Common-wealths, retayne in all fortunes, the ſame courage, and the ſame dignitie. And to ſtrengthen his concluſion, with examples, hee alleadgeth one in particular, in the perſon of *Furius Camillus*; and another vniuerſall, of the Romane Common-wealth, and ſaith, that although that fortune change and is variable, yet neuertheleſſe their courage altereth nor changeth not, and they beare themſelues in ſuch ſort in their accuſtomed manner of liuing, that

A that it ſeemeth that fortune cannot ſurmount them, or predominate ouer them,and repeateth the words which *Titus Liuius* maketh *Camillus* to ſpeake: *Nec mihi dictatura animos fecit, nec exilium ademit.* Which is to ſay: The Dictatorſhip hath not giuen me courage, or made me proude, neither hath my baniſhment taken it from me, and made me baſe and a coward. The example of the Common-wealth conſiſteth in this, that after the loſſe of the battaile of Cannas,which was the third, the Romanes were not out of heart, nor diſcouraged,neither would they ranſome their priſoners,nor ſend Ambaſſadours to *Hanniball*, but put another armie into the fields. *The greatnes of courage of the Romane Common-wealth.*

B Behold what hee ſaith of excellent men and mightie Common-wealths: and then turning to weake men and weake Common-wealths, hee ſaith,that they which are of ſmall heart and little courage, are otherwiſe gouerned: for through their vanitie they are proude and inſolent in proſperitie, and ſo make themſelues odious to their neighbours: and when fortune turneth her backe and changeth countenance, they become ſo baſe and abiect,that they doe nothing worthie their greatnes: and ſo concludeth, that the vertue of retaining courage is ſeene in the Romanes, and that the vice of baſenes,and to become abiect, was ſeene in the Venetians:

C and with many words continueth blaming them,and noteth al that they did after that battaile, calling them baſe and cowards, ſeeing that hauing but halfe loſt a battaile at Vaila, they yeelded to the Pope his townes and countrie,and to the King of Spaine his ports and Hauens; and to the Emperour his townes, declaring themſelues his Tributaries, offering to pay 50000. Ducats yeerely vnto his Maieſtie. This author ſetteth downe all this in the 31. diſcourſe of his third booke.

But whoſoeuer ſhall well examine the doings of the Venetians, ſhall ſee that they therein did deſerue more praiſe then blame, and

D that they rather ſhewed a greatnes of minde,then any feare or baſenes. And to ſet it downe in order, it ought to bee conſidered, that when a man ſpeaketh of two men,or of two Common-wealths,and that he maketh betweene them compariſon of their actions,it is requiſit that all things therein bee alike: for when there is neither equalitie nor proportion, a man can neither blame nor praiſe their doings. The proportion and compariſon conſiſteth in this,that the diſgraces and misfortunes be equall and alike, and the ſtrange accidents of the ſame. And to come to the particular, I would gladly aske of this author whether the diſgrace of the exile of *Camillus*, might

might be compared with the misfortune of *Hannibal* of Carthage, E
when hee fought with *Scipio* at Carthage, and whether *Hannibal*
might bee ſaid and reputed to bee baſe and abiect, when (ſeeing his
countrie oppreſſed by ill fortune) he went to entreate a peace with
Scipio: I doe not thinke that *Hannibal* can be ſaid to be of a baſe cou-
rage in compariſon of *Camillus*, the diſgraces being vnlike. And a
man may ſay as much of the Common-wealths. Let a man make
compariſon betweene the diſgraces and ill fortunes of the ouer-
throw at Cannas, and the warre which the Venetians had in the
yeere 1508. and he ſhall ſee whether Rome may be termed a migh-
tie Common-wealth, and Venice a weake Common-wealth. But F
to come neere to the particular, and to ſhew that the Common-
wealth of Venice hath not deſerued ſo great blame, I will aske of
the author of this diſcourſe certaine queſtions, by the which it ſhall
appeare that the Lords of Venice dealt wiſely, and not like fooles
and ill aduiſed: and grounded vpon certaine rules and precepts,
which this author giueth in diuers places, it ſhall be ſeene that they
failed not in doing as they did. Firſt I remember to haue read in
one of his diſcourſes, wherein he ſheweth that the Romanes neuer
had two warres together at one time, although they had many one
after another, but not two at any one time together: ſtanding vpon G
this ground, I would aske the author how the Romanes would
haue behaued themſelues and maintained their greatnes, if after
the ouerthrow of Cannas by *Hannibal*, they had had to deale with
foure *Hannibals* togethers at one inſtant, all conſpired to their ouer-
throw and ruine? I am of opinion, that being oppreſſed by their ill
fortune, they would hardly haue retained the hautie courage which
they ſhewed, hauing to deale but with one. Wherefore, if the Ve-
netians, after their ouerthrow at Vaila, had had to deale but with
the King of France alone, as the Romanes with *Hannibal* alone, this
halfe ouerthrow of Adda had not made them ſo much diſcoura- H
ged, yea they would not haue taken any great care, (with the reſt of
the armie which was ſaued, with the Earle of *Patiglian*, and one of
their Pouruours, amounting to the number of 25000. men, and
with many others which were gathered and ioyned togethers) but
would haue reſiſted the King, and retained their former courage,
and peraduenture ſurmounted their aduerſarie. But being to fight
not onely againſt one enemie, but againſt fiue or ſixe at once, vnited
and coniured together, who had concluded in the Caſtle of Cam-
bray, and reſolued to ruinate them, and to make warre againſt them
all

A all at one inſtant, and euery one apart : it is not to bee wondred at, though they could not ſhew the vertue that was within them, by their exteriour forces ; ſeeing that according to the common Prouerbe men ſay, *Ne Hercules contra duos*, that *Hercules* himſelfe is not ſufficient to fight againſt two at once: one onely Common-wealth then, could worſe reſiſt and make head againſt Pope *Iulius* the ſecond, the Emperour, the kings of Fraunce and of Spaine, beſides other pettie Princes, which altogether roſe and made warre againſt them in diuers places, as the Duke of Ferrara, the Marques of Mantoua, and the Frangipani, Infrioli. So as it could not be ſaid, that
B the Lords of Venice had not one only warre (as the Romanes had) but foure together, and each of them with great Princes, each of which was ſufficiently able to wage warre with them alone; for this cauſe the Common-wealth of Venice, did not deſerue to be reckoned in the nomber of the weake Common-wealths, neither was there any compariſon betweene the diſgraces happened to Rome, and that which befell the Venetians.

And moreouer ſeeing that the Venetian Common-wealth, by the Authour of theſe diſcourſes, is placed in ranckc with weake Common-wealthes, he ought rather for pitie to haue excuſed the
C weakeneſſe and debilitie thereof, then to haue charged it with cowardize, and to be baſely diſcouraged: for a weake perſon ſhewing weakeneſſe and debilitie, deſerueth not to be blamed for it, but rather to be pitied. Furthermore a man may ſay, that the Venetians loſt not the vertue of their courage, but concealed and hid it for a time : ſo as it plainely appeareth, that ſo ſoone as there was but one haire of fortunes periwig preſented vnto them, & that there began to ſhine but one little ſun-beame of hope, but preſently they tooke hold thereof: and then manifeſting the vertue which for a time lay hidden, they boldly reentred into their enterpriſes; and mocking at
D the leagues and forces of their enemies vnited againſt them, they recouered and in ſhort ſpace reconquered all that, which they had (rather let goe aſtray) then loſt in Lombardy. To the reſt the ſame Authour in the eleuenth diſcourſe of his third booke, giueth a rule and aduertiſement: that when many that are puiſſant and mightie are ioyned and vnited togethers againſt one other, that is mightie, although that they all being vnited be farre mightier then hee, a man ought neuertheleſſe to hope better of him alone which is the weaker, then in all them, although in number they be moſt mightie, for this, that he alone vſing a little induſtrie, may diſunite and ſeparate

them aſunder; prouided alwayes, that he be ſo valorous, as that hee E
may be able to reſiſt the firſt brũts of their aſſaults, temporizing and attending occaſion. Heare what this Authour ſaith, and after addeth and alleadgeth the example of the Venetians, when in the yeere 1484. they had all Italie banded againſt them, by which meanes they were wholy ouerthrowne and vndone, and could not keepe the field with their armie, through an agreement made with *Lewes More* gouernour of Milan, and a practiſe and deuice they deliuered themſelues of that trouble, recouered the countrie which they had loſt, and vſurped part of the Dutchie of Ferrara. This aduertiſement being founded vpon the example of the Venetians, I F
know not wherefore a man ſhould impute that to their baſenes now, which was then accounted for good induſtrie: and I know not wherefore a man ſhould ſay of them, that in the yeere 1484. they were wiſe men, and that in the yeere 1508. they were ill aduiſed. There were many which were puiſſant, vnited againſt one that was puiſſant: they which were vnited and conioyned togethers, were more mightie than this alone; how could the Venetian Lords then hope to haue the better, and to diſunite the Princes, vnited and combined in league togethers to their ruine, but to ſerue their turnes by induſtrie? to grant vnto the Pope that which he inſtantly G
demaunded; to giue to the King of Spaine thoſe Ports which hee deſired; and to demonſtrate vnto the Emperour that they would doe that which he required? wherefore ſhould that be accompted baſenes, which afterwards ſhewed it ſelfe to be wiſedome? And if the Venetians were not ſo valorous, as to reſiſt and ſupport the firſt force and aſſault, they found neuertheleſſe the meanes to temporize, vntil they might be able to diſunite the other Princes from the King of France, againſt whom was the principall quarrell, and by whom they were ouercome and put to flight; and for this cauſe they gaue eſpeciall charge to *Anthony Iuſtinian* their Ambaſſadour H
with the Emperour, to conclude a peace with him vpon what condition ſoeuer. They ſent no Ambaſſadours to the French King, who had ouercome and defeated them, neither to raunſome their priſoners, neither did they make any ſhew to ſtand in any doubt of him alone. Wherefore the reſolution of theſe Lords was, to haue warres onely with him, as the Romanes had with *Hannibal* alone: and therefore they vſed all meanes to bring it to paſſe that he might remaine alone, for that they doubted not ſo to vnite and reinforce their troupes, to fight with him, and to ouercome him if poſſiblie:

And

A And whoſoeuer ſhall with iudgement reade *Guicciardin*, ſhall ſee that the Venetian Lords did very wiſely, to vſe this expedition to diſunite the Princes: for they were no leſſe to feare ſome ciuill tumult within their walles, then the enemies armies abroad: vpon this accident which might happen, the Fathers and Senatours vſed great conſideration. And although that *Guicciardin* doe note them of a little feare and of a too ſudden deſpaire; I ſay, neuertheleſſe that it more auaileth to be wiſely fearfull, then raſh and fooliſhly hardy: for ſometimes the faining of feare hath ſerued mens turnes in many occaſions and occurrences. Moreouer, the author of the ſaid diſ-
B courſes, in the fourteenth of his ſecond booke, ſpeaking of the rendring any thing through feare, which appertaineth to another man, ſaith, That when a man hath to deale with one man alone, the yeelding vp of any thing through puſillanimitie, will not appeaſe him, but that he will haue more: but when a man is to anſwere to many enemies, when thou ſhalt reſtore to ſome one, that which appertaineth vnto him, thereby to winne him to thee, and to diſunite and ſeparate him from the reſt of the confederates againſt thee, (although that the warre were alreadie open) this plot and counſell is good: ſee what he ſaith. Reſting my ſelfe vpon this his foundation, I ſay, that
C the Lords of Venice hauing to deale with many enemies vnited togethers, and the warre being alreadie open, did wiſely to giue to ſome one of them, that which belonged vnto him, to diſunite him from the reſt of the allies and confederates: and therefore they deſerued not to be blamed, ſeeing they followed this counſel, ſo much approued by the author of this diſcourſe. And further, in the 11. diſcourſe of his third booke, he ſaith: That the Venetians in the yeere 1508. were ruinated, for that they had no valorous armies, nor meanes to temporize, neither time nor oportunitie to ſeparate nor diſunite the confederates: and addeth further, that they might haue
D giuen part to ſaue the reſt, and if they had made reſtitution in ſeaſon, it would not haue ſeemed to haue beene done through neceſſitie: and if before the rumour of the warre, it had been a wiſe and prudent aduice; but in the time of the warre it was ſcandalous, and of little profit. Grounding my ſelfe vpon theſe words, I ſay, that the Venetians did wiſely to proceede in this manner. And that the author of this diſcourſe (noting want of wit in whoſoeuer ſhall proceede as they did) ought to remember what hee hath written, and preſcribed for a rule of eſtate in the ſecond booke the 14. diſcourſe, which is this: That oftentimes men are deceiued, which thinke by

Proude men are hardly appeaſed by humilitie.

humilitie to ouercome arrogancie, and his words are ſuch as follow: No Prince ought to omit any part of his degree, neither ought to leaue or giue vp any thing by compoſition, (if he will honorablie leaue it) except it be when hee is able, or thinketh himſelfe able to hold it: for it is better to ſuffer it to be taken perforce, (the buſines being brought to ſuch termes, that it cannot be left in the manner aforeſaid) then to leaue it for feare of forces. For if thou leaue it for feare, and thou doeſt ſo to the end to deliuer thee from warre, moſt commonly thou getteſt nothing thereby; and for that that hee to whom (through apparant feare) thou haſt yeelded ought, will not bee contented, but will haue yet more, and will bee inflamed againſt thee, and leſſe eſteeme thee, and thou ſhalt finde forrein aide very weake; but hauing diſcouered thy aduerſaries drift, if thou put thy ſelfe in order, and prepareſt thy forces, although they be leſſe then his forces are, hee will begin to regard and make account of thee. From theſe words a man may draw many concluſions, to proue that the proceeding of the Lords of Venice, in this great oppreſſion and diſaſter of fortune, was not baſe, but wiſe and well aduiſed: and the concluſions are theſe, that humilitie vanquiſheth not arrogancie; and that a man ought to giue nothing to the enemie before the warre; and that it auaileth more to loſe by force, then through the feare of force; and that whoſoeuer doth yeeld or reſtore that which belongeth to another, thereby to diſunite enemies confederated and in league together, doth wiſely. The firſt reaſon then is this, and may be framed in this manner: Pride and arrogancie cannot bee ſurmounted by humilitie: the Venetians rendring that which belonged to others, had ſhewed themſelues humble and abiect, and ſo conſequently had not abated the pride of thoſe Princes, and hauing granted that which they required, they would not haue been contented, but would haue had more. A man may frame the ſecond in this manner: Thou ſaiſt that the Venetians made no reſtitution at ſuch time as they ſhould haue done it; I demaund at what time they ſhould haue made reſtitution? By thy rule they ought not to haue rendred before the warre was moued, for feare to make ſhew of feare; neither vpon the taking of armes, for that were a matter ſcandalous: it ſhall then bee well done to make reſtitution vpon the experience of the warre. But the Venetians made no reſtitution before the warre, neither vpon the point thereof; they did well then to parle and treate of reſtitution after the battaile. A man may thus frame the third: It is better to ſuffer a thing

A thing to bee taken away by force, then to abandon it for feare of force: the Venetians ſuffered that which belonged to others, to be taken from them by force, and did not abandō it for feare of force: they did better then in proceeding in this manner, then to haue made reſtitution before the triall of armes. The fourth is framed thus: Whoſoeuer doth render that which belongeth to another, thereby to ſeparate him from his confederates, doth wiſely. The Venetians made reſtitution, to the end to ſeparate the Princes vnited againſt them, they gouerned themſelues wiſely, and their manner of proceeding was aduiſed & not weake, being wiſely fearefull.

B As for the matter where the author aforeſaid ſaith, that the Venetians are inſolent in their proſperitie, and that they called the French King the ſonne of S. Marke, they made no account of the Church, neither could they hold themſelues in quiet in all Italie; I ſay that it is an ordinary vice among men, and that they can hardly containe themſelues within the bounds of modeſtie, in fortunate and happie times; and it is more poſſible to make no ſhew of melancholie in an ill time, then not to be ioyfull in good times, for it is more eaſie to conceale ſorrow then ioy, the which being vnable to be contained within a mans breaſt, of force will ſhew it ſelfe in ſome one manner

Ioy cannot be hidden.

C or other. A man might alſo ſay, that there is no heede to be taken to the ſpeeches of the common people, the which naturally is of cuſtome inſolent, and to vſe ill and vnſauourie ſpeeches, chiefly in a free Citie as Venice is: neither ought a man to regard or make any reckoning of the ſpeeches and diſcourſes of young gentlemen, which yet haue not had any experience in the affaires of the world, who in proſperitie cannot chuſe but ſhew themſelues pleaſant and ioyfull at the happie ſucceſſe of their countrie, vaunting of the enterpriſes thereof, as if they were their owne, and ſometimes let ſlip ſome words, which ſent a great deale more of pride and vaine-glo-

D rie then of modeſtie: but regard is to be had of the words of the Senatours and graue Fathers, which ſuffering not themſelues to bee carried away with the paſſion of the minde, haue their tongues conformable to their braines and ſenſes. And if Princes which are held and reputed for wiſe, ſhew themſelues inſolent and puft vp with pride in proſperitie, and endeuour to extoll themſelues through proud and ambitious titles, as did *Lewes More*, who called himſelfe (and would that others alſo ſhould doe the like) the ſonne of Fortune. Should a man then marueile though the Venetians through inſolencie called the French King the ſonne of S. Marke? And it

Lewes More, *Gouernour of Milan, cauſed himſelfe to be called the ſonne of Fortune.*

is a common ſaying, that euery dog will barke at his maſters doore, E
and euery cocke will crow vpon his owne dunghill. Wherefore ſhould a man make ſuch account of the inſolencie of the Venetians, which in fine hurteth none but themſelues, and paſſeth not their lakes and channels of waters: a man ſhould not ſpeake ſo much of ſo meane a matter. As for this, that the author of this diſcourſe alleageth, that the Venetians ſent to make themſelues Tributaries to the Emperour, and to pay him yeerely 50000. Ducats for tribute: Some hold this to be but a falſe rumour bruted abroad, becauſe that theſe Lords ſent *Anthony Iuſtinian* to accord with the Emperour vpon whatſoeuer condition: whereupon many things were ſpoken F
of, without any ground or foundation, and the Ambaſſadour (aforeſaid) neuer came before the Emperour, neither paſſed he Trent, becauſe the Biſhop of that towne would not giue him audience, he went no further, but returned againe to Venice. And it is the more vnlikely that they would offer themſelues Tributaries to the Emperour for this, that vpon ſome occaſion the league of Cambray was broken. And put the caſe that the Emperour had ſtaied with his forces alone, the Venetians had no reaſon to ſtand in feare of doubt thereof, in any ſuch ſort, that that feare ſhould make them perpetuall Tributaries to the Empire: and the letters which were G
written by the Senate to the Pope, were not ſo full of puſillanimitie, feare, or cowardiſe, as ſome report, but with a Chriſtian reuerence and graue humilitie, for the deſire they had to be abſolued of the cenſures and excommunications of the Church, of which abſolution they made more account, then of ſundrie townes, and to appeaſe the wrath of the Pope, who ſeemed to bee highlie diſpleaſed with them, becauſe of his countries, and finally to ſeparate and diſunite him from the King of France, as they did: and to the ſame end they rendred the Ports of Puglia to the King of Spaine. As for the Oration which *Guicciardin* is ſaid to haue tranſlated word H
for word out of the Latin, which he ſetteth downe as recited by the Ambaſſadour *Iuſtinian* before the Emperour, I ſay it might well bee true, that *Guicciardin* had ſeene, and had this Oration, for that that at Rome, and in ſundrie places of Italie, many copies were to bee ſeene by the fault of many Secretaries, or mens curioſitie, which make profeſſion to haue certaine ſecret and ſingular matters: and euerie man knoweth that when ſuch copies paſſe many mens hands, a man may eaſily adde, not onely words, but euen whole ſentences. But may it not be found that *Guicciardin* fained it, and drew

it

A it out of *Hannibals* oration to *Scipio*, written by *Titus Liuius*, where-
in are the very ſame conceits : for he had no reaſon to compile ſuch
a tale, when as he might ſummarily ſhew the ſubſtance and content
of the legation and the Ambaſſage of *Iuſtinian*, as by his hiſtorie a
man may ſee many others diſperſed : but for as much (as I haue
ſaid) many copies were to be ſeene, and peraduenture before *Iuſti-*
nian parted from Venice, *Guicciardin* may bee exempted from the
reproch and ſlander to haue forged it, to the diſhonour of the Ve-
netians. And for concluſion, I ſay, that a man ought not too haſtily
to condemne either Princes or Common-wealths of debilitie or
B puſillanimitie, when they are ſurpriſed by ſome force and great in-
iurie and oppreſſion of fortune, which ſurmounteth their forces,
and when feare falleth vpon them, (which may trouble and ſhake
any man be hee neuer ſo conſtant) and I know not how the Com-
mon-wealth of Rome would haue ſhewed her excellencie, if it had
had to deale with ſo many enemies together, as Venice had. And in
giuing place to the mightie oppreſſion and force of Fortune, a man
loſeth neither his excellencie nor courage : for to fight and loſe
through obſtinacie, rather then by giuing place to the furie and ri-
gour of fortune, to aſſay to auoide the perill and trouble, is audaci-
C tie, but not valour ; and raſhnes, rather then prudence.

CHAP. 38.

That he who of an enemie will become a friend, ought not onely
to forget all iniuries paſt, but to put from him all things
D *which may put him in minde thereof.*

ALthough it be more eaſie of a friend to become an
enemie, then of an enemie to returne friend : ſo is
it that the laſt is not impoſſible, although it be
ſomewhat difficile, and leſſe vſed then the firſt,
the which difficultie commeth of no other thing,
then from the greatnes and noblenes of our heart,
which cannot endure to be iniuried nor grieued in any part, which
may diminiſh (be it neuer ſo litle) of his dignity : which he alſo doth

in matters conioyned therewith,as country,wife,children,and ſuch E
like; which if a man wrong, the heart is highly diſpleaſed,and aſpi-
reth to all kinds of reuenge,thereby to aſſwage the griefe which op-
preſſeth it,by reaſon of the iniurie receiued. From hence commeth
the ſlaughter and murther of thoſe which oppreſſe their countrie,
and the puniſhment of thoſe which conſpire againſt iuſt Princes,
the reuenge of priuate iniuries, and the diuiſion of many friend-
ſhips. And becauſe there is no inconuenience but that a man ſhould
ſhew himſelfe as noble and generous in pardoning as in reuenging,
and acquire to himſelfe more praiſe and honour in pardoning then
in taking reuenge,and ſheweth a nobler heart and greater courage F
in the one then in the other: I ſay that then when a man is reſolued
to remit and pardon all iniuries paſt,and of an enemie to become a
true friend, he muſt put from before him and wholy forget all mat-
ters which may bring to minde the offences receiued: for hated
obiects doe greatly moue our ſpirit, which if it be not well tempe-
red,is eaſily drawne to doe that which it would not, if it ſawe them
not.

More praiſe and commendation is purchaſed by pardoning, than taking reuenge.

There was a gentlewoman of Ceſena worthie of much praiſe
and commendation, whoſe husband in the yeere 1539. with many
wounds was murthered: and ſhe deſiring that her ſonne,which ſhe G
had by him, who was then but a little childe, ſhould one day re-
uenge the death of his farher: ſhe kept his fathers bloodie and go-
rie ſhirt in her cheſt, euen as it was taken from his backe when hee
was ſlaine,which ſhe often ſhewed to her ſonne, to the end to im-
print in his minde by that obiect,the outrage done to his father. In
in proceſſe of time it happened, that either at the intreatie of her
parents and friends, or the perſwaſion of ſome religious perſons,
ſhe yeelded to a peace, and pardoned the murtherer of her huſ-
band,and with ſo great a generoſitie of heart ſhe forgaue him, and
ratified the peace promiſed, that to ſhew the ſinceritie of her heart, H
and that of an enemie ſhe was become an honeſt Chriſtian friend,
ſhe put out of ſight the obiect which might put her in minde of the
offence committed: and taking the bloodie ſhirt of her ſlaine huſ-
band, ſhe ſent it to him who ſlew him, letting him to vnderſtand
that hee might liue ſecurely, for ſhe not onely pardoned him, but
had alſo put from before her eyes the obiect, which might alter her
minde,and make her to remember the iniurie paſt.

In like manner the noble and magnanimous act of *Maximilian*
the firſt Emperour is worthie of eternall memorie, and to bee regi-
ſtred

A ſtred in the immortall writings of the moſt excellent authors, who being reſolued to hold for his friend *Lewes* the 12. King of France, from the houſe of the which Kings of France the Empire had receiued many iniuries: he not onely thanked the King for helping him by his meanes to recouer his townes in Frioli, which the Venetians held, but forgetting all the wrongs receiued of the kingdome of France, and to ſhew that he was become a true friend, and had no obiect before his eyes, which might call to memorie offences paſt, he cauſed a booke to be burnt which was kept at Spire, wherein were written all the iniuries, which in time paſt the Kings of
B France had done to the Empire: an act truly of great goodnes and worthie of the magnanimitie of the houſe of Auſtrich.

A noble acte of the Emperour Maximilian.

CHAP. 39.

A man ought not to giue credit to an error which he ſeeth his
C *enemie to commit, but rather to thinke that he doth it to ſome ſpeciall purpoſe, and that vnder the ſame, there lieth hidden ſome ambuſh or deepe deceite.*

D AWiſe Captaine or Generall of an Armie, ought neuer to giue credit to an error, which hee ſeeth his enemie to commit, eſpecially, when the errour is apparantly foule & groſſe, for therein euer lieth ſome ſecret and hidden deceit: which may happen in ſundrie manners: firſt, in ſhewing a great and audacious raſhneſſe, and temeritie, vſing to aduenture ſo far forwards, that it ſhould ſeeme impoſſible that the enemie ſhould be ſo vnaduiſed, to commit a fault of ſo great importance, except to ſome purpoſe: as for example, when the enemie commeth to call thee, at the very foote of thy walles, and to prouoke thee to fight, boldly preſenteth himſelfe, euen into thy campe, that all men may maruell thereat; or by ſome groſſe fayned ſhew, in diſguiſed and counterfeite apparell, making ſhew to doe ſomething, enforcing themſelues thereby to draw thee out of thy Campe. Such manner

of the enemies proceeding ought to make thee beware, for ſuch E
drifts are not without ſome cauſe and eſpeciall ſet purpoſe to de-
ceiue thee. Amongſt the examples of the Romanes, we haue one of
Fuluius, Lieutenant of the Romane armie, when he remained alone
to guard the Campe in the warre againſt the Tuſcanes, for the
Conſull being gone to Rome to doe certaine ceremonies, the Tuſ-
canes then thinking to drawe the Romanes in the abſence of the
Conſull out of their Campe, and to make them fall into an ambuſh
laide there hard by: they ſent certaine Souldiers apparrelled like
Shepheards, with a good number of beaſts, and made them goe
within ſight of the Romane Armie, comming almoſt to the F
trenches of the Campe. The Lieutenant meruailed much at this
their boldnes, and deuiſing with himſelfe what this preſumption
might meane, and conſidering well that it had ſome foundation,
he found out the meanes to diſcouer the fraude, and ſo this deuiſe
of the Tuſcanes ſerued to no purpoſe. A man ought alſo to knowe
this error, when the raſhnes of a few, with a great brauado prouo-
keth the enemie to fight, being encamped in a ſtrong and ſure
ground: and when men ſallie forth to fight with them, they begin
to flie, and make ſuch retrait, that the incamped deſiring to ouer-
come, may follow without thinking of any ambuſh, and fall there- G
in without perceiuing their error, vntill ſuch time as they be ſurpri-
ſed: wherefore they ought to beware of ſuch manifeſt errors, and
to beleeue that thereunder lyeth ſome hidden deceit. And to the
end to truſt to a moſt euident error committed by the enemie, we
haue an example in the Lombards, ſometime called Gaules. Theſe
Lombards hauing ouercome the Romanes at the riuer of Allia,
now called Caminate, tooke their way towards Rome, and finding
the gates all open, and ſeeing none to guarde the ſame, and fearing
ſome Ambuſh and deceit, for they thought it impoſſible that the
Romanes ſhould commit ſo groſſe a fault as to leaue their Cittie o- H
pen without defence but for ſome purpoſe; wherefore they held
themſelues all that day and all the night following without entring,
neuer thinking that in the hearts of the Romanes had been harbou-
red ſo great cowardiſe, and ſo little iudgement, that they ſhould
haue abandoned their Citie and Countrey.

The circumſpection of Fuluius, a Captaine of the Romanes.

Rome abandoned by the Romanes, for feare of the Gaules.

Guicciardin. We haue another example of error, which happened in the time
of our auncеſters, in the yeare 1508. when the Florentines made
warre againſt the Piſans. In this warre was taken priſoner *Alfonſo
de Mutolo*, a citizen of Piſa, but a man of baſe condition, who was
taken

A taken by *Canaicio de prato*, an olde Souldier of the Florentines, which kept this *Alfonſo*, and made him great cheere and vſed him very honourably. This man being by the Piſans induced to doe ſome exployte, offered to giue vnto the Florentines one of the ports of Piſa, prouided that they ſhould ſet him at libertie: whereupon he was deliuered, and being come to Piſa, he entertained the Florentines with this hope to be poſſeſſed of a port of Piſa, wherein their armie might enter, and the matter was carried ſo openly, that comming to conſult and parle with the Commiſſioners and principall men of the Florentine Campe, *Mutolo* brought with him
B certaine young men of Piſa to keepe him companie, and although he left them a part, when he went to ſpeake with thoſe which were ſent by the chiefe Commaudners of the Florentine Armie, it is not to be ſaid, but that the aforeſaide Florentines might haue perceiued, that affaires of ſo great importance are not handled in publike, and (in a manner) in the face of the enemie: neither did they conſider that ſuch an error could not be committed by *Alfonſo* without ſome fraude, which tooke ſuch effect, as the Piſans deſired; for the Florentine Armie approching the port appoynted and giuen in garde to *Mutolo*, which was that towards Luques, the Pi-
C ſans ſallied out brauely, and with the loſſe and diſhonour of the Florentines, they let them know that the parlying to giue vp Townes to the enemie, is not done in publike and openly: but the deſire of hauing Piſa did ſo blinde the Florentines, that they could not ſee the error of *Alfonſo*, vntill it was too late, and they not able to remedie it: and there they loſt many of their Souldiers and Captaines, amongſt which dyed the Captaine *Canaicio* aforeſaid, who tooke *Mutolo* priſoner, whom he had vſed with ſo much and ſo many curteſies.

The ouerthrow of the Florentines before Piſa, through the policie of Mutolo, a Piſan Captaine.

CHAP.

CHAP. 40.

A Captaine at all times and in all places in the warres ought to be ſo vigilant and in ſuch readines, that he may auoyde the blame to haue warred prepoſterouſlie, and not to haue done his enduour.

AMong manie conſiderations which a Captaine ought to haue, which ſerueth a Prince or Common-wealth in the warres, one of the moſt principall is, to carrie himſelfe ſo aduiſedlie in his charge, that hee incurre not through his fault any danger: & failing in his office, he wrong not his ſouldiers, and diſhonour not himſelfe and the Prince whom hee ſerueth. To truſt and preſume too much of himſelfe, and to make too little account of the enemie, and to imagine all daungers to bee farre from him, and ſuch like matters, may make him fall, and to become negligent vpon his guard, ſo that by ſome ſudden aſſault, or other ſtratagem of warre, hee may be put in diſorder, and then (to his hurt) perceiue his fault and negligence. *Petilius Coreal* was Generall for the Romanes, againſt three Leaders of the Germanes, to wit, *Ciuil*, *Claſſique*, and *Tutor*: and hauing incamped himſelfe in a ſtrong place, hee valiantly fought with the enemie, and gaue them often alarmes. He had a deſire one night to lie out of his Campe; whereof the Germanes being aduertiſed, aſſailed it with great furie vpon a ſudden: and the Romane armie, for being without a chiefe Commander, began to disband themſelues and was put to flight: and *Petilius* from the place where he ſlept heard the noiſe and ouerthrow of his armie, and when it was day he retired with great danger towards his friends, and had much to doe to reunite his forces and make head againſt his enemie: which had not befallen him, if he had not thus erred in lying out of his Campe. Behold what *Cornelius Tacitus* ſaith.

Petilius Coreal, *Generall of the Romanes, through his negligence was ouerthrowne and put to flight.*

Cornelius Tacitus, lib. 20

But to come to examples of latter times, in the time of our Anceſtours,

A ceſtours, in the yeere 1508. when the Emperour *Maximilian* determined to reconquer his Townes which the Venetians withheld from him, when the Lord of Trent which was for him at Verona, deſired to beſiege the Towne of Lignago, from whence the Venetian ſouldiers oftentimes made roades and incurſions, euen to the gates of Verona, and did much hurt: wherefore he called the Marques of Mantoua, who with a company of men at Armes, which he had of the King, lay in an Iland called Scale, at a great Village in the countrey of Verona, but vnwalled, and without any manner of fortification. Whileſt that the Marques was there, doubting no e-
B nemies, he was ſurpriſed by *Lucio Maluezzo* and *Zitolo de Peruſa*, Venetian Captains, by a ſtratageme; by meanes whereof hee was taken priſoner, hauing firſt fled almoſt naked, for that being deceiued by the Word, *Turke*, which was the Marques his Watch-word, and thinking with his people, that they had been ſtradiots and aduenturers, which had promiſed to leaue the Venetians, & to come to ſerue him; wherefore finding him with any guard, they entred without any contradiction, or reſiſtance, for that the other ſouldiers and men at Armes, lay ſcattered here and there in the Village. They ſacked the houſe, and diſarmed the ſouldiers, and the Marqueſſe flying in
C his ſhirt, being gotten out at a window, and hidden in the fields, among the wheat, was diſcouered to the Venetians by a Peaſant or Churle of the Countrey, and brought to Venice, and committed to priſon in the Towre of the publike Pallace, from whence hee could neuer get out, but by the meanes of *Baiazeth* the great Lord of the Turkes. By the which fact according to the opinion which *Guicciardin* giueth, other Captaines may alſo take example, to be vigilant and in a readineſſe in time of warres: and when they haue any charge, ſo to hold themſelues vpon their guards, that in all occaſions, they may ſerue their turnes with their owne forces, without
D aſſuring themſelues either of the far diſtance of the enemies, which may ſecretly ſurprize them, or of their weakeneſſe, for that they may take heart and courage, knowing that they haue to deale with perſons that are ill guarded, which thinke that they ſhould not bee aſſaulted. As it happened to *Proſpero Colonna* in the yeere 1515. who being at Villa Franque, when *Francis* the firſt king of France paſſed into Italie, and thinking that his enemies were farre off, ſuſpecting nothing, not imagining that that celeritie and expedition might be in another man which was in himſelfe, being ſuddenly ſurpriſed by the Lord *de la Paliſſe*, as hee was ſitting at his table at dinner, hee was taken

A Captaine ought alwaies to be in readines and well aduiſed in his affaires, in all accidents.

pray make ye theſe.

Guicciar. li. 11.

Proſpero Columna, through his owne fault was taken priſoner by the Lord of Paliſſe, a Captaine of the French.

taken priſoner the 15. of Auguſt, hauing heard nothing of the enemie, but euen then when hee ſaw them within his houſe. And although that hee might excuſe himſelfe, ſaying, that his Sentinels were taken, and that the inhabitants of the towne had ſome intelligence with the ſaid Lord *de la Paliſſe*; yet this ſurpriſe was attributed to his negligence and little care, notwithſtanding that he was a moſt honourable Captaine, and of that noble houſe full of glorie, and worthie perſonages. Let Captaines and braue warriours then learne to take heede, that they faile not of their endeuour: to the end that if they encounter with ſome diſaſter or luckleſſe accident, they may boldly and with a cheerefull countenance accuſe their ill fortune and diſgrace, and not their negligence.

CHAP. 41.

VVhen a man hath newes, and is aduertiſed of a victorie, it is better to purſue and aſſure the ſame, then to make good cheere for ioy.

THoſe men which conſider not well the affaires of the world, and which gouerne themſelues more after their owne fantaſie then by reaſon, and which applie themſelues more to their preſent pleaſure, then to prouide for the euill which in time may come; will not like of this diſcourſe, as that which ſeemeth to blame the ioy of a victorie, a good ſo much deſired, by thoſe which follow the warres, as nothing more. But hee which ſhall well conſider what I ſay, ſhall know that I blame not the reioycing at a victorie, for that were an expreſſe and great fooliſhnes: but I ſay, that a Prince or Commonwealth, which hath obtained a victorie, ought not to abandon himſelfe ſomuch to ioy & pleaſure, that he be ſo ouerwhelmed and loſt therein, that he giue ouer the purſute and confirmation of the victorie: to the end that being certaine and well aſſured and without any more feare of the enemie, hee may afterwards, with a tranquilitie and

A quiet of mind, enioy the fruits of the victorie, and liue in ioy & reſt. Wherefore a man ought to know, that the victorie is either whole and perfect, or elſe imperfect and vaine. The intire and perfect victorie is this, wherein the enemie is wholy ouerthrowne and oppreſſed, in ſuch ſort that you need not any more to feare that he ſhal be able to hurt you, or riſe againſt you, hauing wholy diſarmed him, and leauing nothing remaining more for you to ouercome, you may liue in aſſurance and ſecuritie. For although the victorie be great, and bring to the victorious much reputation: yet the victory cannot be ſaid to be whole and perfect, ſo long as there reſteth
B any enemie armed. And for a briefe concluſion of my diſcourſe, I ſay that that may iuſtly bee ſaid to bee a perfect victorie, which leaueth nothing behind to be done and ouercome, and which giueth you vniuerſall aſſurance of peace: and ſuch victories are very rare, and few can be recited ſince the raigne of *Auguſtus Cæſar*. The imperfect victories are theſe, which although they make you reſpected, and giue you reputation; yet they doe not wholy deliuer you from the enemy, & reſemble a certain kind of ill plants, which bring forth branches with ſome fruit, which although a man cut away, yet neuertheleſſe in the roote there reſteth a vertue to bring forth other,
C which muſt alſo be cut off: euen ſo may a man ſay, that an imperfect victorie is the ſeede of another future warre; the vertue and forces remaining yet in the enemie to renue the warre, to fight againe, and to bring you into new trouble and danger. And when I ſay, that the victorie is vaine, I ſpeake not of that vanitie, which ſignifieth little or nothing at all: but I meane that it hath not that perfection and fulnes in it ſelfe, as the other before ſpoken of. When a man doth not throughly know theſe imperfect victories, they of cuſtome do draw after them many vices, as negligence, immoderate ioy, inſolencie, and little regard of the enemie, vices truly pernicious and full of in-
D finit dangers, eſpecially the confidence that a man hath that he ſhall no more receiue any iniurie or hurt of the enemie; which confidence maketh the victors ſo ioyfull and pleaſant, that they take no care for any other thing, omitting the purſuit of the victorie, which they care not to aſſure & confirme in ſuch ſort, that it may be plaine and perfect, bringing with it true reſt and publike peace. To be ioyfull to haue ouercome, is a thing fit and tolerable: but through ioy to leaue things behind vndone, fit and conuenient, cannot bee attributed to vertue. And ioy being ordinarily an enemie to counſell (of force) where great ioy is, there is little care of the euill which may

That is a perfect victorie which aſſureth a man in his eſtate; and deliuereth him from the feare of his enemies.

An imperfect victorie is the ſeede, roote, and beginning of another warre.

Victorie is many times the cauſe of many vices.

Guicciar.li.10 enſue. The Lords of Venice in the yeere 1512. obtained a great vi- E
ctorie againſt the French, in the which they recouered Breſſe, Bergamo, Orcinoui, Orciuechio, Ponteuico, and many other townes thereabouts. The newes of this victorie being come to Venice, there was ſuch incredible ioy, that it almoſt bereaued men of their wits and iudgements, and ſuffered them not to ſee the great care and diligence which they ought to haue vſed, to confirme and aſſure this victorie, in ſending ſouldiers, artillerie, munition, and other things neceſſarie, as well to batter and take the Caſtles and places of ſtrength yet enemies, as to aſſure the places alreadie taken: but the
Venetians full of ioy, imagining that there was now no bodie left F
that would doe them any more hurt, they rather tooke care to ordaine and ſend new Magiſtrates, and Senatours, to gouerne the townes which were taken (which ſhould be the laſt conſideration) then to prouide for the purſuite of the victorie, or to eſtabliſh it in ſuch ſort, as they ſhould not haue needed to feare to loſe thoſe places againe, as they did: which ought to haue beene the firſt thing they ſhould haue conſidered. For the King being yet ſtill armed, eaſily recouered all thoſe townes and fortreſſes againe: and giuing them continually ſomewhat to do, he made them know, that when
a man hath obtained a victorie, he ought to eſtabliſh and aſſure the G
ſame before hee make any bonfires for ioy. Yet notwithſtanding this, a man might ſay, and that truly, that the Venetians at one inſtant gaue order for ciuill and militarie gouernment: but for that it is eaſier to ſend a man to gouerne a place (whither hee may ride in poſt) then to ſend thither munition of warre, for which there requireth time; and the gouernours for the policie might ſooner arriue, which are made in a day, then the prouiſions for the warres. Some men imagine, that the Venetians by reaſon of their great ioy, applied themſelues rather to create Magiſtrates, then to diſpatch
away Captaines and men of warre to be ſent thither. And a man H
may iudge that their prouiſions were great, ſeeing that all thoſe places in ſhort time after returned againe into their hands, which they poſſeſſe to this day.

CHAP.

A

CHAP. 42.

That enterpriſe ſeldome faileth which is noyſome and hurtfull to the enemie, and whereof a man well knoweth that he ſtandeth in feare.

B

IT is a common ſaying, that he which knoweth whereof his enemie ſtandeth moſt in feare, knoweth alſo how to be able to offend him, & this is found true, whē a man hath to deale with an enemy that is a man of iudgement, & gouerneth himſelf by reaſon: for whē a man ſeeth that his enemie proceedeth in his affaires with reaſon, a man may well beleeue that he doth it not without ſome purpoſe and occaſion: but when

C a man hath a matter in hand, whereby he may truly and aſſuredly know whereof he is afraid, then may he well hope of the good ſucceſſe of the aſſault to be giuen. And this commeth to paſſe when he doubteth and feareth that his enemie will aſſaile him in ſome place which is weake, or ill guarded, or which he cannot reſcue, by reaſon of the farre diſtance; or when hee hath not forces ſufficient for the defence thereof, or for ſome other ſuch like reaſon which yeeld him iuſt cauſe of feare: and when a man hath euident tokens or certaine aduertiſements of ſuch feare, the enterpriſe ſo attempted ſeldome faileth.

To know what may breede feare in a Prince that is enemie, is the beginning of good ſucceſſe.

D In the yeere 1512. after the memorable iourney of Rauenna, where the French had ſo bloody a victorie, that it was hard to iudge whether partie had the worſe, either the victour or the vanquiſhed: being impoſſible to conclude and accord any agreement betweene the Pope and the King of France, the Swiſſers came to ſerue the Pope, of whoſe valour and power the French ſtood much in feare. The Swiſſers hauing taken the way towards Trent to ioyne with the Venetian armie, came downe into the countrie of Verona: and the French not knowing what courſe they would take, were before gone to Pontoglio to ſtop their paſſage: but the Swiſſers hauing Guicciar. lib. 10

taken another way, the Lord *de la Paliſſe*, the French Kings Lieute- E
nant in Italie, being in doubt whether they would goe towards Ferrara or towards Milan, wrote a letter to the gouernour Generall of Normandie, being at Milan, giuing him to vnderſtand of the ſtate of the French Kings affaires in Italie, & in what termes they ſtood; aduertiſing him further, that it would be very hard to reſiſt the forces of the Swiſſers and the armie of the confederates, if they ſhould togethers attempt that ſtate. This letter (by misfortune) fell into the hands of the aduenturers which ſerued the Venetians: who hauing read it, and conſulted thereof in the preſence of the Cardinall of Sedun, and others the chiefe of the armie, it was concluded to F
charge the ſtate of Milan, by the reaſon (as I afore recited) that that enterpriſe ſeldome faileth, which is doubted & feared by the enemie, as in this caſe. Wherefore the confederates laying their foundation vpon this letter, and vpon this iuſt feare, charged the eſtate of Milan, and chaſed away the Frenchmen.

G

Chap. 43.

To wrong the ſtatues, images, and pictures of Princes in their life time is a poore reuenge, and oftentimes the cauſe of great hurt to him which doth the ſame.



Euer man found good by doing wrong: and if it be ill done to bee outragious towards liuing men, which may remember the iniu- H
ries, a man ſhall doe much worſe by doing iniurie to thoſe which are ſenſeleſſe and can not reuenge it. And here hence it commeth, that they are much blamed which commit cruelties vpon dead bodies, which ought to be left in peace, and reſpected as thoſe which cannot anſwere for their faults. For which cauſe *Homer* blamed the Greekes, who wounded the dead bodie of *Hector* after he was ſlaine by *Achilles*, and noted them with this ſcoffe, That the very Hares would aduenture to charge the Lion when hee was dead. And although it ſeemeth

A meth that they which commit ſuch outrages, receiue ſome contentment by glutting their rage: yet it cannot be ſaid, but that ſuch doings are rather brute and ſauage, than humane. The iniuries which are done to ſtatues and images of Princes in their life time, reſembleth this iniurie: and if it be done for reuenge, becauſe they cannot doe it to himſelfe being aliue, a man ſatisfieth his rage againſt the ſtone or the wood which repreſenteth him, I ſay that this is a poore reuenge, fitting the furie of the common people, which in it ſelfe hath no reaſon or iudgement. And if ſuch iniurie be done to charge the perſon repreſented in this image, I ſay that it is a thing very dan-
B gerous, becauſe that the Prince, or ſome friend of his, will peraduenture thinke of this wrong which ſhall be ſo done, reputing the offence as done to himſelfe in perſon, and will puniſh it no more nor leſſe, then as if he himſelf in perſon had bin grieued, mocked, and ill vſed, in what manner ſoeuer. Wee haue an example in the Boulognois, in the time of Pope *Iulius* the ſecond, who hauing driuen the *Bentiuogli* out of Boulogne, did many pleaſures to the Boulognois, granting them many priuiledges, dignities, and exemptions, which the Boulognois ill acknowledged, when the *Bentiuogli*, by meanes of the French King, againe returned into the citie: for then they
C tooke a ſtatue of his made of braſſe, which was erected vnto him as a benefactor, which ſtatue they threw downe in diſdaine and deriſion: the people was induced to this iniurie, either by the guard and followers of the *Bentiuogli*, or otherwiſe being tired with the troubles of the warre, they would diſcharge their choler and furie, according to their cuſtome, vpō the image which repreſented him, whom they deemed to haue put them to all that paine and trouble. The Pope was highly diſpleaſed with this iniurie, and when Boulogne returned againe vnder the command of the Church, after the French were driuen out of Italie, if he had not beene preuented by
D death, (as the report went, whether it were true or falſe) he had determined in reuenge of that iniurie, to haue deſtroyed the citie of Boulogne, and to haue reduced the inhabitants into the citie of Cento, and alreadie began to ſtay the chuſing of Magiſtrates, and not to commit them in any place of any honour or gouernment: yea and by meanes of his rude and ſeuere officers hee drew a great ſumme of money from thoſe citizens, which claue to the faction of the *Bentiuogli*: and if death had not interrupted his conceits, he was a man very likely to haue effected what hee had proiected in his mind. And ſo the Boulognois, for hauing outraged the ſtatue of a

Thoſe which doe wrong and ſhew cruelties to the dead, are worthie of eternall ſhame and diſhonur.

Gucciar. li. 10.

Prince then liuing, were in daunger to haue loſt their countrie. E

The Florentines likewiſe were ſo ill affected to the houſe of *Medicis*, that when the people roſe againſt that houſe, in the yeere 1524. certaine young gentlemen of noble houſes, went to the Church of the Annunciation, where were the ſtatues of Pope *Leo* the tenth, and *Clement* the ſeuenth, which were great and made to the life, and hauing throwne them downe, brake them in peeces, vſing them very ill: this iniurie among others was the cauſe of the warres of Florence. After the which, the gouernment being returned into the hands of the *de Medicis*, thoſe which committed this wrong and outraged thoſe Images, were ſeuerely puniſhed: & the Florentines F were made to know, that Princes know how to reuenge the wrongs done to their ſtatues, as well as if they had bin done to themſelues in perſon. *Charles* the laſt Duke of Burgundie, vſed ſo great and memorable a reuenge againſt the towne of Nantes, for no other cauſe but onely for that the Nantois made his ſtatue and the ſtatues of certaine others his friends, and hanged them by the neck vpon a gibbet. Such iniuries then done through choler or malice, are baſe and vile reuenges, which bring with them great danger, when Princes are able to puniſh them. When a man hath to deale with the dead there is leſſe daunger, and yet a man purchaſeth the name and G report of wicked, malicious and enuious, and to malice the glorie of the dead, who by his vertues deſerued to haue a ſtatue erected vnto him, as was done to *Bartholmew Coleon*, erected at Venice in the place of S. *Iohn Pol*, for they which enuied his glorie, would whiſperingly ſay, that hee was but a pedler, and had not deſerued ſuch honour, and they put into the hand of his ſtatue, a beeſome, a ſacke vpon his ſhoulder, and a basket vpon his head, which are ſignes of a pedler. But this was a baſe iniurie, and a reueuge of the viler ſort of ſome baſe common people: the valour of *Bartholmew* of Bergamo (as a warriour and Chieftaine of great happines and reputation) H deſerued, that the Senate of Venice (as wiſely reknowledging the deſerts of thoſe which haue done them ſeruice) ſhould haue made him a ſtatue on horſebacke, with an helme vpon his head, and the trouncheon of a Generall in his hand, as marks and enſignes of his worth and vertues.

Charles Duke of Burgundie, ſeuerely puniſhed the Citie of Nantes.

CHAP.

CHAP. 44.

A Prince or Common-wealth, which hath to deale with a mightie and well armed enemie, ought not to refuſe any reaſonable and honeſt compoſition and agreement, by reaſon of
B *the doubtfull and incertaine hope to preuaile.*

WOrldly hopes are ſo deceitfull, that whoſoeuer doth too much depend of them, ſhall commit an error and be euer deceiued: and for this cauſe euery man, who vpon hope of a better bargaine, ſhall reiect a good one offered, the euent and expectation ſeldome anſwering the conceiued hope, and the firſt occaſion being loſt, he wil at length repent the refuſing of the
C firſt offer, and for an incertaine good, to haue forſaken a certaine. And becauſe men doe oftentimes deceiue themſelues herein, I ſhall not doe amiſſe to corroborate this which I haue ſpoken with two examples, by the which a man may know how ill they are aduiſed, and what error they commit, which leaue and refuſe a good offer, vpon hope to haue a better. And if there bee daunger in all things to be gouerned by ſuch hope, it is yet moſt dangerous in the warres, when a man hath to deale with mightie enemies, with whom it were farre better to come to an honeſt and good agreement, then hoping in vaine to haue a better, and not contenting (as
D it were) to winne, but would ouerwin.

The example drawne out of the ancients, is that of the citie of Tyre, which ſtood in the water as Venice doth now: *Alexander* the great hauing conquered the Eaſt, the Tyrians ſeeing his greatnes, ſent him Ambaſſadours to offer him their ſeruice, and to yeeld him ſuch obedience as it ſhould pleaſe him; yet vpon this condition, that they would receiue neither himſelfe, neither any of his people into their citie. *Alexander* being diſpleaſed that one ſuch towne ſhould ſhut the ports againſt him, whom all the Eaſt had receiued, reiecting both the Ambaſſadours, and the conditions offered,

Plutarch *in the life of* Alexander.

fered, he reſolued to ſend thither his Armie. The Citie of Tyre (as I haue ſaid) was built in the water, well walled, and furniſhed with all things for the defence thereof, in ſuch ſort, that *Alexander* hauing beſieged it the ſpace of foure moneths, knew well, that to ſtay there, was but to diminiſh his glorie, and to loſe time; whereas in the meane time, by the conqueſt of many other countries he might encreaſe the ſame: and for this cauſe he concluded to accept of the conditions offered him before, and to graunt to them, that which they demanded, and ſo beganne to parle of an agreement. But the Tyrians ſwolne with pride, and fierce, by reaſon of the reſiſtance which they had made, would not ſo much as accept of any agree- F
ment or compoſition, but they ſlue thoſe which came to parle with them thereof. Wherewith *Alexander* beeing much moued, with ſuch furie and obſtinacie he aſſaulted the Towne, that taking it perforce, he razed it to the ground, and ſlue the one halfe of all the in-
Alexander *the great deſtroyed the citie of Tyre.* habitants, and the other halfe he made ſlaues. And then the Tyrians to their whole ſubuerſion and vtter ruine of their Countrey knew, that it had been better for them, to haue accepted of the conditions, which they themſelues had offered, then vainely perſwading themſelues to ouercome *Alexander*, and to haue obtained better, which was to make the enemie to giue ouer his enterpriſe, and with G
ſhame and diſhonour to raiſe his ſiege, which had redounded to their glorie.

The other example is taken out of the hiſtories of *Guicciardin* in an action of the Florentine Common-wealth: which was, that in the yeere 1512. an armie of Spaniards came into the Seignorie of Florence, for three cauſes, to wit, to alter the Gouernement; to reeſtabliſh the *de Medicis* in Florence, and to draw ſome money from their Common-wealth. The altering and chaunging of the Gouernement, conſiſted, in taking away the authoritie of Magiſtracie from *Peter Soderini*, who was Gonfalonier for terme of his life. The H
returne of the *de Medicis*, was to be on condition, that they ſhould liue as priuate Citizens: and the ſumme of money which the Spaniards required, was not ſuch, but that the Florentines might very eaſily haue paid it. The Spaniards had not that fauour which was promiſed them, by many Citizens, who had offered themſelues to take armes in their behalfe, ſo ſoone as it ſhould come to their knowledge, that they were arriued in that Seignorie. Wherefore victuals and other neceſſarie prouiſions beginning to faile, they aſſayed to come to ſome compoſition, and there beeing no more queſtion of

changing

A changing of the State,which was granted,and of the returne of the *de Medicis* in like manner, but all the matter reſted in paying a certaine ſumme of money, which exceeded not 30000. Ducats: and that out of the towne of Prato, before which the Spaniſh Armie then lay, victuals ſhould be giuen, vntill that the articles of agreement were ratified. But the Florentines, moued with a vaine hope of preuailing, without accepting of any of theſe conditions, delaied their reſolution, and finally would not accept of this agreement (the three points being reduced into one,) which was of the payment of the money. Wherefore the Spaniards conſtrained through
B neceſſitie and deſpite, ſpoyled the towne of Prato moſt miſerably, and put the whole eſtate of Florence to great paine and trouble. He then committeth a great fault, which is aſſailed by a mightie enemie, and accepteth not of the reaſonable conditions which are offered him, in hope to preuaile without them. The Citie of Tyre ought to haue been contented, when *Alexander* yeelded to graunt vnto them the conditions, which they themſelues before had demaunded,and to haue made ſo great a Warriour to conſent to their wils. It ought alſo to haue ſufficed the Florentines, when ſo many conditions propounded by the Spaniards were reduced into one:
C and it was a ſufficient Conqueſt, that the Spaniſh Armie did yeeld to any of their demands,without the performance of all that which they had required. But the ambition of the Gonfalonier, the deceitfull hope of the people,and the deſire of glory in him which gouerned, put the State in great hazard. So ſhall it euer come to thoſe, which grounded vpon the vanitie of their conceits, loue better fooliſhly to follow the deceitfull hope of better fortune, then to embrace and wiſely accept of good and reaſonable offers: for a good compoſition can neuer be ſo baſe, bùt that it is ſome honour to him which accepteth thereof, and a man ought by ſo much the
D more to conſider of this point, by how much more the enemie with whom he is to deale, is mightie and puiſſant.

Prato ſacked by the Spaniards.

CHAP.

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CHAP. 45.

It is a great fault when confederats are ſlow in helping one another in time of daunger, and the loſſe and dammage that riſeth thereof.

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WHen a Prince or Common-wealth deſireth league or confederacy, to offend or defend, this groweth not but through the conſideration of his owne forces: for an eſtate which would offend or defend it ſelfe from the force and violence of another, and knoweth that their owne forces are not ſufficient to reſiſt or offend, hath recourſe to the ayde or ſuccours neere or farre off, according as it beſt fitteth his purpoſe, though the ſuccours which a man requireth from farre off, be for the moſt part (and to ſay the truth) in a manner alwaies vnprofitable and hurtfull: for a towne which cannot defend it ſelfe by their owne forces, and deſireth ſuccours from farre off, reſembleth a man which falleth ſicke of ſome dangerous diſeaſe, in ſome village farre from the Citie, in ſuch ſort that hee muſt ſend to the Citie for the Phiſition, through the farre diſtance whereof, either the ſicke man dyeth, or the comming of the Phiſition ſerueth to no purpoſe, for that the diſeaſe hath taken ſo great hold on him, that it is growne incurable: and ſo when the aide and ſuccour is farre off, of force the Citie ſo aſſailed muſt fall into the enemies hands. A man may ſee an example in Sagunt, the which being beſieged by the Carthaginians, attended ſuccours from Rome: and Sienna being beſieged by the Emperours armie, hoped of ſuccours from France, in the yeere 1554. And finally the Iſle of Cypres being aſſailed in the yeere 1570. by the Turkes forces, had hope of ſuccours (though farre off) from the Lords of Venice. The leagues and confederacies are then much better which are made with neighbours neere at hand, and thoſe which may be eaſily called, and may eaſily helpe. But thoſe which are bound in a league and required to giue ſuccour, and neuertheleſſe deferre the giuing thereof, or are cold in ſending, put their

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A their friends in daunger, purchaſe blame to themſelues, and the name and report to be cold friends and little friendly: and by this coldneſſe they marre all the buſines which might haue brought honour and profit to all; for thoſe which demaunde ayde are hot in their attempts, and if they which are called be cold, mixing this with that, it maketh a luke-warmenes which is nothing worth: and this is the reaſon why leagues, for the moſt part, come to no good effect. And for this cauſe, when two or three, or more haue power, to ioyne themſelues together, a man ought not then to be ſlowe in aſſembling and vniting his forces, and to ſend them ſpeedely where
B neede requireth, becauſe oftentimes they come too late. The Carthagenians had a deſire to ſeaſe and make themſelues Maſters of Sicilia, and beſiege Selinonte: and the Selinontins which ſaw that their forces were not ſufficient to endure a long ſiege, neither to reſiſt two or three hot aſſaults, demaunded ſuccours of the Siracuſians their friends and allies; which willingly promiſed them ayde, but they were very ſlowe in the perfourmance: for if the Siracuſians had ſent ſuccours when the Silenontines demaunded the ſame, Silenonte had neuer been taken: and if it had been taken, the Sile-
C nontines had had no occaſion to haue complained of their confederates, and the Siracuſians had not purchaſed the euill report which they did. For notwithſtanding that the Siracuſians knewe that the Silenontines were beſieged, yet neuertheleſſe they foreſlowed the relieuing of them; and notwithſtanding that they were often ſolicited thereunto by the Ambaſſadours of Silenonte, yet they went ſlowlie to worke, in ſending the ayde which at laſt was ſent; but the long ſtay gaue oportunitie to the Carthagenians ſo to force Silenonte, that they tooke it by aſſault and ſacked it: and the Siracuſians which were vpon the way, being aduertiſed of the taking of it, returned with repentance to haue too long deferred the
D ſending of reliefe. *Lewes* the 12. King of France, fell into the like error, being confederate with the King of Nauarre. The King of Caſtile being enemie to King *Lewes* of France, would haue paſſed into France with his Armie, but the King of Nauarre, for that he would not fayle his friend and allie, denied and ſtopt his paſſage, in ſuch ſort that the King of Nauarre procured to himſelfe the warre, and being vnable to reſiſt the Spaniſh King, had recourſe to the ayde of France. But King *Lewes* thinking that the King of Nauarre had been able for a time to haue defended himſelfe from the forces of the Spaniard, ſlacked to ſend him ſuccours: and this delay

Silenonte was taken by the Carthagenians, for that it was not in time relieued by the Siracuſians.

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was the cauſe why the King of Nauarre was ouercome, and forced to flie and abandon his Kingdome. A man might produce many other examples of latter time: but theſe may ſuffice for the preſent. I will onely ſay, that the Leagues are of this nature, that they are hot in the beginning, and cold in the end: and he which demaundeth being hot, and he which is required cold, of force there muſt follow (as I haue ſaid before a lukewarmenes) which marreth all, in the one heat diminiſhing, to ſee ſuccours failing him; and in the other cold encreaſing, to ſee how great difference there is, betweene thinking and doing. E F

CHAP. 46.

VVhen ſuccours ſent to a friend or confederate are inſufficient, to put him out of daunger and trouble, through being too weake, they bring daunger of loſſe and diſhonour.

THere is no doubt but that he which demaundeth ſuccours of a Prince or Commonwealth, ſheweth weakenes of ſtrength, becauſe that he which is aſſaulted, or which would aſſaile another, knowing that he hath not forces fit thereto, which may be ſufficient either for the one or the other, hath recourſe to the ayde of his friend, to the end that being vnited with others, he may be able to doe that, which of himſelfe he could not doe alone. But when the Prince requeſted, whether by vertue of confederacie, or alliance, or by any other bond of friendſhip, reſolueth to ſend the ſuccours demaunded, he ought to ſend ſuch as his friend or confederate may ſerue his turne therewith: for that otherwiſe hee which receiueth, findeth (after the common ſaying) an ill Merchant, which giueth him no contentment: and he which ſendeth, is in danger to haue diſgrace, and peraduenture loſſe in thoſe which he hath ſent. Wherefore it is better freely to deny, than coldly to graunt; and this is ſayd, for that there are ſome Princes, which dare not abſolutely to deny the ſuccours required, and yet will not giue ſuch as may eaſe and deliuer their G H friend

friend from trouble; and ſo come to reſolue vpon a mediocritie, which conſiſteth in ſending ſo ſmall a number of men at armes, that he which receiueth the ſuccours, is neuer the better for them but in ſhew, and hee which ſendeth, ſendeth as into a manifeſt daunger, whereof enſueth diſhonour to the ſender: and to recouer his honour, and blot out this ſhame, of force he muſt ſend new ſuccours, which may eaſe his friend & deliuer him from trouble: by meanes whereof a man wiſely doth that in the end, which he ſhould with conſideration and prudence haue done in the beginning. It commeth alſo often to paſſe, that they which receiue ſuccours, through the diſcontentmẽt which they haue, by reaſon of the ſmall aide and forces thereof, practiſe, and by ſome meanes conclude a peace with the enemie, without the knowledge of the confederate, as it hath often happened in time paſt: or elſe that by ſome ſtratagem, or other meanes, the ſuccour ſent commeth to an euill end, to the end that the Prince which ſent the ſame, may haue cauſe to complaine of his loſſe receiued, and to bee auenged thereof, to ſend ſo great a number of men, as may ſuffice to recouer his loſt reputation, and cleerely to free and deliuer his friend from trouble. The like part was plaied with King *Manfredi* by the Gibelins of Florence, which deſiring his helpe againſt the Guelphes, which had thruſt them out of the towne, he ſent to them for ſuccours onely one companie of Germane men at armes, with his owne Enſigne or Cornet. The Florentines which were fled to Sienna, were diſcontent with this ſmall ſuccour, and by the counſell of *M. Farinata* of the Vberti, chiefe of this faction, it was deuiſed that the Almaines ſhould either win or loſe the victorie alone, or ſhould remaine for pledges, to the end that being ouercome & diſpatched out of the way, K. *Manfredi* ſhould ſend them ſome greater aide. There was a faire banket made for them, furniſhed with much good meate, and excellent good wine, and at the end of the feaſt when they were well filled, vpon a ſudden an alarme was giuen: wherefore the Almaines no leſſe warmed and chafed with the wine, then the ſound of the Drumme, ſallied out of Sienna, and with great furie charging the enemie, made a moſt faire proofe of themſelues: but in the end were all cut in peeces, and the Kings Enſigne taken. Wherfore K. *Manfredi* wroth and moued with this diſgrace, ſent to the Gibelins ſuch ſuccors, as they therewith ouercame their enemies, and returned to their countrie: which if King *Manfredi* had done in the beginning, his Enſigne had not receiued that ſhame, neither had his people bin ouerthrowne.

Leonar. Areb. lib. 1.

The Germanes were defeated by the Guelfes before Siena.

CHAP. 47.

An Ambaſſadour ought not to care to be accounted importune by the Prince with whom he hath to deale, prouided that he ſatisfie his owne Prince in that which he deſireth.

THe charge of an Ambaſſadour is full of great care and trouble; and he which diſchargeth the ſame with his honour, may be placed in the ranke of honourable perſonages, and worthie of reputation: and this charge is, by ſo much the greater, by how much the more a man hath to handle and manage matters of importance, or to negotiate with Princes, which being obſtinate in their opinions, are not induced by the liuely reaſons which are alleaged, neither anſwere to the points and conditions which are propounded. When a man then knoweth the nature of the Prince with whom hee hath to deale, to be (according to the common ſaying) maried to his owne opinion, it ſhall be good to attempt, by ſome reaſons to diuert him, and to alleage many reaſons vnto him, to the end that it may appeare that the coldnes of the Ambaſſador hath not broken off the affaires. But that the naturall inclination of the Prince, hath been the cauſe why the buſineſſe hath not taken wiſhed effect: and when a man commeth to the point of that which he deſireth, if the Lord with whom he hath to deale, wearied with his inſtance and importunitie, ſhew himſelfe in word diſpleaſed, yet ought he not to be diſcontent: for his Prince will take his importunate ſollicitation for induſtrie and diligence, although to the other it ſeeme to be too farre preſſing and importunitie.

An Ambaſſadour ought not to care for an ill word from the Prince with whom he hath to deale.

In the yeere 1513. the King of Spaine ſent to the Emperour *Maximilian* for his Ambaſſadour *Peter Diurea*, to perſwade him to reſigne Verona to the Venetians, to the end that they ſhould not ally themſelues to the King of France, and there went with him *Iohn Baptiſta Spinello* Earle of Carriati, Ambaſſadour for the ſame King to Venice:

Guicci. lib. 12.

A nice: and there being a forbearance of armes betweene the Empe-
rour and the Venetians; theſe Ambaſſadours arriued in Germanie
at the Emperours Court, who had alreadie reſolued with himſelfe
not to render Verona to the Venetians vpon any condition what-
ſoeuer: becauſe hee would not wholy diſpoſſeſſe himſelfe of one
port, to enter into Italie. The Ambaſſadours began to treate of the
reſtitution of the ſaid towne, ſhewing for a reaſon that by meanes
of the money which the Lords of Venice would giue him recom-
pence, which amounted to a great ſumme, and by meane of the
Spaniſh armie which their King would giue him, hee might make
B warre in Burgundie: and with this reaſon they alleaged many o-
ther. But *Cæſar* continued ſtill firme in his reſolution, and would
not be turned, what conditions ſoeuer were offered to his aduan-
tage: And becauſe the Spaniſh Ambaſſadours were very earneſt
with him, *Cæſar* diſpleaſed with their replies and importunities, and
principally with thoſe of Counte Carriati, he ſaid vnto him; that by
the meanes of his inclination to the Venetians, hee ought rather to *A check giuen by Maximilian the Emperour to the Spaniſh Ambaſſadours.*
be called a Venetian than a Spaniſh Ambaſſadour. The Earle cared
not for that nip, knowing that his Kings deſire was, that he ſhould
purſue the reſtitution, and loued better to be accounted importune
C by *Cæſar*, then negligent by his Maſter.

CHAP. 48.

VVhat manner men they ought to be which are ſent Ambaſſadours and officers to other Princes.

D PRinces ought to be very well aduiſed in making choiſe of ſuch men, as they will ſend abroad to other Princes vnder the name of Ambaſſadours, or other title: for when a Prince ſendeth perſons which carrie not with them a grauitie and reputation, there is no great account made of the Prince which ſendeth them; and hee to whom they are ſent, is either diſpleaſed with them, or ſcoffeth them: whereas to the contrarie, when the ſeruant or officer hath the port of a man of reputation, the Prince which ſendeth him, purchaſeth the praiſe and renowne

of a diſcreete and well aduiſed Prince, and he to whom hee is ſent E
thinketh himſelfe much honoured, ſeeing that to negotiate with him, there are ſent men of honour and of reputation. This kinde of men ſent in affaires, manage them with dignitie, maintaine the friendſhip betweene the Lords, if there be any; if there bee none, they practiſe to make it: and briefly, they carrie themſelues in ſuch ſort, that he which ſent them holdeth himſelfe for well ſerued, and he to whom they are ſent is well pleaſed. But the officers or Ambaſſadours which haue no credit nor reputation, in place of good will purchaſe hatred, and the Prince is no leſſe blamed, then his ſeruant or officer; and except great neceſſitie require, there will be no con- F
cluſion of any matter of importance.

I remember that I read in *Muzio Iuſtinopolitan*, an example of an officer of ſmall account, I know not whether it bee fained or true. He reporteth of the inconſideration of a Prince whom hee knew, who choſe a ſeruant vnfit for the affaires which he ſhould manage, and conſequently of ſmall reputation, and ſaith: I knew a Prince which had to manage and treate of a matter of importance, with the Pope of his time, to whom he ſent for Ambaſſadour the chiefe groome of his chamber: to whom hauing cauſed his Secretaries to giue inſtruction, according to the cuſtome, of all that whereof hee G
was to treate with his holines, he learned by heart his whole inſtruction word by word, euen as the Secretaries had giuen it vnto him: and being come into the Popes preſence, hee very well recited it word by word, euen as it was giuen to him in writing. At the beginning the Pope began to laugh at this Ambaſſadour, and after waxed angrie, thinking that they had mocked him: but being afterwards aduertiſed of the ignorance of this Ambaſſadour, he mocked as well at the Prince which ſent him, as at the ſeruant which had ſhewed ſuch blockiſh groſſenes. Wherefore a man may well beleeue, that when hee ſhould deſire the Popes anſwere to his gentle H
ambaſſade, one ſhould bid him returne to his Maſter and to tell him, that he had well repeated that which he had learned. If this be true, the Prince committed a great error, to chuſe a groome of his chamber to treate of matters of eſtate and of conſequence: ſeeing that his office was to waite in the chamber, as the office of the ſteward to haue care for the table and other prouiſions for the houſe. When there is queſtion of ſending an Ambaſſadour to another Prince, to carrie letters of diſpleaſure or of ioy, or other ſuch like matters, which are not of importance, then the Prince may ſend a-

Mutius Iuſtinopol. *in his treatiſe of a Prince.*

ny

A ny bodie whom he pleaſe: But when it is needfull to manage matters of waight and of conſequence, he ought to ſend ſeruants which are men of experience, of grauitie and of reputation, if he will haue good ſucceſſe in his buſines. For this cauſe *Alfonſe* the firſt of Arragon King of Naples, being to ſend an Ambaſſadour to Gaietta, which obſtinately defended it ſelfe againſt him, choſe *Anthony Panormitan*, whom he knew to be a man fit to perſwade and diſſwade; *Gaietta.*
he ſent not thither a groome of his chamber, neither the maſter of his houſehold, neither a Captaine which wanted eloquence, requiſit in ſuch a caſe, to perſwade the Gaiettanes to yeeld, and not to trie
B his choler and laſt diſpleaſure againſt them. Notwithſtanding that *Panormitan* obtained nothing, yet it cannot bee ſaid but that the Kings iudgement was good, to chuſe a man who had more force in his tongue, then a Captaine in his hands.

CHAP. 49.

C *A man ought euer to eſteeme of his enemie: for whoſoeuer doth deſpiſe him, doth commonly deſpiſe him to his owne hurt and dammage.*

D I Haue euer marueiled at ſome, which are accuſtomed to a certaine manner of liuing, different from that of other men, which make no account of any man, and in al matters and actions, euery man muſt giue them place, and giue them the honor to be ſuperiours in euery thing: and theſe men haue ſuch a perſwaſion of themſelues, that they account not any for their equals, and in all occurrences deſpiſe all perſons. If they bee in councell, to make their opinions better then all the reſt, they mocke at the aduice of others, and a man muſt take their authoritie in paiment in lieu of reaſon: they mocke at euery man be he neuer ſo wiſe or well aduiſed. If they haue any charge either Ciuill or Militarie, their directions muſt be followed and put in execution, be they neuer ſo groſſe and witleſſe, and oftentimes daungerous. If they haue an enemie, they hold ſuch opi-

nion of themſelues, that they imagine that their lookes ſhould be as E
ſo many Muſquet ſhot, and deſpiſing him, they make account that hee ought to tremble in hearing but their name onely, and are ſo blinded in their preſumption, that they perceiue not the daunger which (for deſpiſing an enemie) hangeth ouer their owne heads: and ſuch manner of men are eaſie to be ouercome and brought to ruine: For ſuch contempts are very dangerous, as well in particular as publike enimities. And as for the particular, a man may hourely haue a thouſand examples of men, who, becauſe they make no reckoning of their enemie, going vnprouided are ſlaine. Wherefore a F
gentleman of Florence hauing a quarrell with another, went armed, was commended for the wiſe anſwere which he gaue to one, which asked him whether hee went armed becauſe hee was afeard or no: hee ſaid, that hee went ſo armed, becauſe he would not bee afeard, and ſpake wiſely: for a man cannot better deſpiſe his enemie then in fearing him, to the end that he may alwaies finde vs readie when he ſhall aſſault vs, and that hee be either deceiued or grieued. As for publike quarrels, to wit, when armies which are enemies follow and ſeeke to oppreſſe and ouercome the one the other, then to account little of an enemie is moſt daungerous, and cauſeth many honourable enterpriſes to be loſt: which may bee proued by many G
examples, as well ancient as moderne: but not to be tedious I will recite a few.

A wittie anſwere of a gentleman of Florence.

Tigranes the moſt mightie King of Armenia, being to fight againſt *Lucullus* Generall of the Romanes, and ſeeing the ſmall number of the Romane ſouldiers, he deſpiſing and mocking them, ſaid: If they came to fight, they were too few; but if they came for Ambaſſadours, they were too many. But the iſſue of the battell ſhewed, that a man ought alwayes to make account of his enemies: for *Tigranes* was vanquiſhed by a few valiant men, and to ſaue his life, H
he was forced to put from him all his royall enſignes, and to flie vnknowne, for feare to fall ſhamefully into the hands of his enemies: and ſo a man commeth to know that a great Armie ought not to deſpiſe a little one, if the little bee not without compariſon much leſſe: for the valour of a few may ſurmount the number of many.

Tigranes *the king of Armenia put to flight by* Lucullus *a Captaine of the Romanes.*

Nicias, Generall of a mightie Armie of the Athenians, made war againſt the Siracuſians in Sicilia, whither was ſent with ſuccour by the Lacedemonians, *Gelippus*, who after many dangers by Sea, arriued at Locres. *Nicias* was before Siracuſa, and had ſo furiouſly aſ-

ſaulted

A ſaulted the towne, that the Siracuſians (being in deſpaire) began to parle among themſelues, and after with *Nicias*, touching compoſition of peace: whereto as *Nicias* would giue no eare, there came newes that *Gelippus* was landed with ſuccours in Sicilia; whereat *Nicias* mocked in diſdaine, beeing growne proud, as much for his happie ſucceſſe, as for that he heard the enemies Armie by Sea had made ſhip-wrack, as alſo for that by ſecret meanes he practiſed with certaine Siracuſans, to deliuer the Towne: by reaſon whereof, hee iudged that *Gelippus* was not a man to make reſiſtance againſt him. By this contempt of the enemie and truſt in himſelfe, *Nicias* being
B become more hardy, and leſſe heedfull then he ought to haue been, cared not for fortifiyng, nor for ſetting of guards vpon the paſſages, nor to ſend forces to keepe the enemie from landing, which if hee had done, (eſteeming of *Gelippus* as a man ought to haue done of a valiant Captaine) and had prouided as he ought; he had not been brought into that extremitie as hee was, neither had hee at laſt, loſt both his Armie and his life alſo. Euen ſo *Nicias* ſhewed by his example, the danger and loſſe that there is, in not eſteeming an enemie, although that he that contemneth haue the aduantage, and the fauour of fortune in the warre, ſeeing that his fortune may change,
C being as it is ſo mutable.

Nicias *a Captaine of the Athenians, through his temeritie was ouercome and ſlaine by* Gilippus.

In time paſt there fell into the like errour of contempt, *Braccio de Montone*, a moſt excellent and valorous Captaine in his time, this man beſieging Aquila a towne in Abruzzo, vnderſtood that *Iaques Caldor* & *Francis Sforce* came to reſcue the place: but he deſpiſing & making no account of his enemie, as well for that he had the better and the aduantage, as alſo for that, that *Francis Sforce* was yet but young, he ſuffered them to come into the playne, without making any ſuch reſiſtance, as he had ought to haue done, becauſe hee had giuen his word, that he would not ſtoppe their paſſage. But *Caldor*
D and *Sforce* being come into the playne, with their Cauallerie, without finding any let, put themſelues in order of battell, and giuing the charge, ſlue *Braccio*, and put his whole Armie to flight: which peraduenture had not happened, if *Braccio* had withſtood his enemie, at his deſcending from the mountaine, or if he had not giuen his enemie leaue to deſcend, and leiſure to range themſelues in order. The Biſhop of Crotone, which at large writeth the life of *Braccio*, ſaith, that he ſent a Trumpet to *Caldor*, and *Sforce*, offering them, that if they would giue him battell, hee would giue them libertie to deſcend the Mountaine, and come into the plaine, and

Braccio da Montone *defeated and put to flight by* Francis Sforce.

would not hinder the comming of their Armie. Although this offer was not accepted of *Caldor*, who had neither will, nor commiſſion to fight, except in extreme neceſſitie: notwithſtanding this, *Braccio* againſt the rule and law of armes, (which willeth a man to take aduantage againſt his enemie in what manner ſoeuer) and againſt the will of all his Captaines, which cried that then they were to charge the enemie when hee came downe from the mountaine, where he might haue beene ouercome; yet would he not alter his firſt determination, nor change his minde, being reſolued either to ouercome, or to die in that fight: which he did, becauſe he would not faile of his bold and preſumptuous offer, or becauſe hee made no account of his enemie, preſuming vpon the valour of his ſouldiers, prouiſions, armes, and other aduantages. And ſo *Braccio* committing that to the will of fortune, which he ſafely might haue performed by his owne induſtrie, loſt miſerably his armie, his reputation, eſtate, and life; and being wounded to death, was taken priſoner by a ſimple ſouldier: and by his diſaſter and ouerthrow, taught other Captaines not ſo lightly to regard their enemies, whether he be old or young; becauſe hee ought to eſteeme the aged, by reaſon of his wiſedome and experience; and the young, becauſe of his hardines and good fortune.

CHAP. 50.

VVorthie acts are more often requited with ingratitude and reproch, then with reward and commendation.

TRuly it is a great diſgrace to a gentleman, louing the good and ſafetie of his countrie, when he enforceth himſelfe to deliuer the ſame from ſome imminent danger: and after that he hath deliuered it, to be requited with ingratitude, and blamed for that which hee hath done: and hauing directed all his actions to a good end, when the execution thereof is ill conſtrued. This of cuſtome happeneth in townes which are diuided, where is a gouernment which pleaſeth not all: where if peraduenture

A peraduenture any ciuill and dangerous tumult ariſe betweene the factious, and a gentleman put himſelfe betweene both to appeaſe them, and that by his induſtrie hee ſtay and pacifie them, although for the preſent he ſeeme to deſerue commendation, yet their blood will ſoone waxe cold, and this gentleman will be blamed by either partie, or elſe each of them conſtruing the reſolution and agreement taken by his meanes and counſell, to be to their preiudice and diſaduantage.

In the yeere 1527. the Citie of Florence was gouerned as a free Common-wealth, whereof, for the houſe of *Medicis*, and in the Guicci. lib. 13.
B name of Pope *Clement* the 7. was chiefe, *Siluio Paſſerino* Cardinall of Crotona. It happened in the 27. of March in that yeere, that the Duke of Bourbon with his armie marched through Tuſcane to goe to Rome: and being neere to Florence, the Florentine people diſcontent with the gouernment which then was, vnder colour to defend themſelues againſt the Duke of Bourbon, demaunded the common Armes from the Magiſtrates: & as the matter was deferred, there grew by chance a ſedition in the publike place: by reaſon whereof the greateſt part of the people, and in a maner all the yong men running to the Palace, conſtrained the ſoueraigne Magiſtrate
C to proclaime *Hippolito* and *Alexander de Medicis* Rebels, which were the Popes nephewes, with intent to alter the gouernment, & to reduce it to a popular eſtate. The Cardinall *Siluius* prouided not for this ſedition, but following his determination to goe to meete the Duke of Vrbin, which, with the armie of the league, followed the Duke of Bourbon, and to receiue him into Florence, gaue oportunitie to the gentlemen and the young men to poſſeſſe the Palace. This done, the Duke of Vrbin and the Cardinall, with *Hippolito de Medicis*, entred into Florence, and hauing put 1500. ſouldiers in armes, which vpon a iuſt ſuſpition had bin many daies in the citie:
D they took their way towards the place, there to draw to a head, and to force the Palace which the young men had fortified. Theſe ſouldiers preſently poſſeſſed the place, being abandoned by the people: and the Duke of Vrbin and the Marqueſſe of Saluces, perceiuing that there were too few ſouldiers to force the Palace, which for feare the people ſhould againe take heart, was to be taken before the night came on, therefore they reſolued to bring into the Citie part of the Venetian companies, which were incamped neere the town: and there was prepared a miſerable and lamentable day for the Citie of Florence, where hourely were in danger the Nobilitie to be

maſſacred,

Francis Guicciardin *deliuered the citie of Florence from great danger.*

maſſacred, and the reſt to be ſacked. *Francis Guicciardin*, being the Popes Lieutenant, prouided a good remedy for this diſorder, wherby he deliuered his countrie from an imminent danger and memorable loſſe, which was this: *Frederick Bozolo* comming out of the Palace, whither hee entred at the beginning of this ſedition, to the end to haue appeaſed the ſame, which hee could not doe, but being taunted with many bitter ſpeeches by the angry young gentlemen, and therewith highly offended, in a great chafe hee returned: and knowing the ſmall forces and the great diſorder within the Palace, by his report hee might haue done much harme. But *Guicciardin* went to him and appeaſed him, praying him that he would not inflame the hearts of the Duke and the Cardinall to take the Palace by force, but that hee ſhould perſwade an agreement, and enforce himſelfe to pacifie the trouble: which he very well performed, and perſwaded the Duke and the Cardinal to go into the Palace; where in cold blood, with good words and faire promiſes, they which were within, were perſwaded to returne to their houſes, & to leaue the Palace: and ſo by meanes of *Guicciardin* the ſedition ceaſed and was appeaſed. But within a little while after, he was blamed both by the Cardinall *Siluius*, and by the Florentines alſo: and each of the parties deemed that this agreement was preiudiciall vnto them, for that the Cardinall complaining of him, ſaid, that louing better the preſeruation of the citizens then the greatnes of the houſe of *Medicis*, he had been the occaſion that by his meanes and cunning, the eſtate of the houſe of *Medicis* had not that day beene for euer eſtabliſhed by the blood and death of the Nobilitie: and on the other ſide, the Nobilitie and Commons railing at him, ſaid, that when he entred into the Palace, making the danger greater then it was, he ſeduced them (for the benefit of the *de Medicis*, and to ſupport them in their greatnes) without neede, to lay downe their weapons and returne to their houſes: ſo as the doings of *Guicciardin* pleaſed neither the one nor the other. A gentleman is not to care for ſuch reproches, being for the good and defence of his countrie, neither ought to regard the ingratitude of the citizens, neither the ſpeeches of the people, prouided that he ſerue and profit his countrie, which a man ought by all meanes to defend, and to attempt any thing for deliuerance and ſafetie thereof, whether it redound to his honour or reproch.

The Florentines murmured againſt Guicciardin.

CHAP.

CHAP. 51.

Princes ought to giue eare to ſuch as complaine of their Gouernours and Officers : for it is a dangerous thing, not to regard them.

B FOraſmuch as Gouernours and Miniſters of Princes and Common-wealths, may behaue themſelues ill in their gouernements, and do them little honour which placed them therein; when any one commeth, to complaine to the Superiour, of the ill gouernement of ſome one his ſeruant or officer, he ought gratiouſly to heare him, and ſo well as hee poſſibly may, to content the Plaintiffe; for feare that ſome inconuenience ſhould follow: and by ſomuch the more he ought to do ſo, by how much thoſe Gouernours are remote and farre diſtant from the perſon of the Prince, by which farre diſtance they may preſume to doe ſomething which cannot bee endured. And foraſmuch as it might ſeeme a matter vnworthie of a great Lord, to ſhew himſelfe a man, that will altogether beleeue the firſt tale, ſo ſoone as hee heareth complaint of any one, firſt, of the gouernement, and thereupon diſhonour him, or hauing heard the Gouernours anſwere for his defence, to reiect the plaintiffe: but hee ought heedfully to heare them both, wiſely ſeeking to vnderſtand the trueth, and not to giue D too much credit to the plaintiffe, neither to hold all for true which the Gouernour ſaith for his defence, but by all meanes to know the trueth of the fact, and finding the plaintiffe to be a lyer, to reiect him as a ſlaunderer; and the Gouernour being culpable, to be puniſhed for example. And to the end that the Prince may the better know the trueth of euery thing, he himſelfe ought to heare matters of importance, principally when Ambaſſadours from his remote countries come to ſee him, and complaine of the ill gouernement of the officers and miniſters, he ought not to ſend them backe againe by the way of thoſe gouernours, who knowing that they haue complained

plained of them, will vſe them worſe then before: but he ought by the meanes of other men, worthie to be beleeued, to ſeeke to know the truth, and hauing found out the ſame, put them from their gouernements, and not put the Subiects in deſpaire, as not eſteemed, by maintaining thoſe euill officers in their gouernements: And when his Eſtate is great, to doe as the Venetians wiſely doe, which ſend through all their Dominion, certaine men with authoritie to allow or diſallow of ſuch things as are done by the Gouernours. Who ſo obſerueth this rule, doth not lightly erre: but hee which perſwadeth himſelfe, that his ſeruant will not doe amiſſe, becauſe that in other matters hee hath diſcharged his dutie, and that therefore he ſhould alwayes do ſo, and for that cauſe will not hearken vnto him which complaineth, they which are grieued begin to thinke with themſelues, ſeeing they can obtaine no redreſſe, that it is the Princes and not the gouernours fault: and conceiue the diſpleaſure againſt the perſon of the Prince, and yet ſpare not the Gouernour, if they get him into their hands. In the yeere 1550. or a little before, the Emperour *Charles* the fift, ſent to gouerne the State of Siena, (becauſe of the diſcord amongſt them) *Don Diego de Mendoza*, who for the Emperour had executed the charge of an Ambaſſadour, and mannaged many affaires in that Prouince. Hee comming to that Citie, (beſides the Spaniards which already were there) brought with him a great number, and began to build a fortreſſe, and haſted ſo well the building, that within a ſmall time it was guardable. This gouernour carried himſelfe very ill towards the Sienois, and the ſouldiers became ſo inſolent and cruell, that they were not to be endured: and the Sienois did but loſe time to go to the gouernour to complaine: for hee was ſo farre from puniſhing the Spaniards for the euils which they committed, that he himſelfe fell to mocking of thoſe which complained. The Sienois then wearied with the ill behauiour of *Don Diego*, and his ſouldiers, reſolued to ſend an honourable ambaſſade to the Emperour: and hauing made choice of the principall gentlemen of their citie, they ſent them to the Emperour, to complaine of the iniuries and indignities which were done vnto them by his gouernour and the Spaniards which were with him. The Ambaſſadours were heard by the Emperour, and were but ſlightly beleeued: and in concluſion, were ſent backe to *Don Diego*, who being offended that they had complained againſt him, did and ſuffered to be done vnto them worſe then was done before. Wherfore the Sienois againe ſent other Ambaſſadours in greater number

Subiects ought not to be put in deſpaire to maintaine gouernours.

The inſolence of the Spaniards in Siena.

E F G H

A ber then before, to complaine to the Emperor of the ſame outrages, committed by *Don Diego*, and brought back the ſame anſwer which they likewiſe had before, and were againe ſent back to the ſame Gouernour: by reaſon whereof, the Sienois deſpairing of due reuenge and not expecting any releaſe of their troubles, for that they could not be heard by the Emperor, & fearing wholy to loſe their libertie, began to talke of rebellion, & of yeelding themſelues to the French King; which they did with all poſſible expedition: and hauing ſlaine ſundrie Spaniards, and ſhut vp the reſt in their Citadell, they ſet vp the armes of France, and ſubmitted themſelues vnto King
B *Henry* the ſecond: and if then *Don Diego* had bin taken in the towne, and fallen into the hands of the Sienois in that furie, ſurely they had done him no great pleaſure. And ſo *Cæſar* for giuing too much credit to *Don Diego*, and would not by other ſecret meanes be enformed of the truth, and the complaints of the Sienois, the Citie was brought to rebellion, and infeſted with a moſt dangerous warre, and finally *Don Diego* betooke himſelfe to a priuate life; which hee ought to haue done before. Let Princes then vnderſtand attentiuely them which complaine of their Gouernours; let them enforme themſelues of the truth, and doe iuſtice to him who ſhall require the
C ſame, if they will hold the Gouernours in their dutie, and deliuer themſelues from many diſpleaſures.

CHAP. 52.

Publike officers and miniſters of Princes, ought to be puniſhed
D *for example when they are found to haue done iniuſtice.*

THere are ſome men, the which confuted with certaine apparant reaſons, haue been of opinion that a Prince ought not to puniſh his publike officer, being in publike charge of Magiſtrate, when hee committeth iniuſtice; and ſay that he ought not to be puniſhed for three reaſons: to wit, for not to diffame or diſhonor the Magiſtracie, or publike charge: for not to be eſteemed of ſmall iudgement, in chuſing ſuch a one: & for not to

be accounted cruell,and couetous,in bereauing him both of his life E
and goods. This opinion hath no good foundation, and cannot ſtand but very weakly: but Princes ought to haue this conſideration, that they ſuffer not to eſcape vnpuniſhed the wrongs done by their officers conſtituted in charges and dignities, and that for ſundrie reaſons and occaſions, that is to wit, to ſhew themſelues conſeruers and preſeruers and maintainers of their lawes, which haue preſcribed iuſt puniſhments for vniuſt Magiſtrates to maintaine their owne reputation, which conſiſteth in this, that they ſupport and endure not in places of charge and gouernment,vniuſt and couetous perſons, and that for example, for in puniſhing one, all the F
reſt will beware,& the Prince ſhall not need to doe too great execution. *William* King of Sicilie ſurnamed the good, imitating herein *Artaxerxes*, cauſed an vniuſt Iudge to be fleyed,and commaunded his skin to be faſtened to the Iudgement ſeate, vpon the which he afterwards ſet the ſonne of the deceaſed Iudge to exerciſe iudgement,and ſucceſſiuely many others,which proceeding alwaies iuſtly,gaue no further occaſion to the King to vſe any more puniſhment. *Coſmo de Medicis* great Duke of Tuſcane, during all the time of his raigne,which was 38.yeeres, or thereabouts, had no occaſion to inflict ouermuch puniſhment, for that once only he caſſed all the G
Magiſtrates of eight from the Balia,for not proceeding in a certaine matter as they ought; which gaue ſo great terror to all in generall, that during his life time hee needed not to vſe any ſuch correction towards any ſuch Magiſtrate: and ſo all the reſt gouerned themſelues well,and performed their dutie.

William, King of Sicile, cauſed a certaine Iudge to be fleyed, becauſe he did not iuſtice in his charge.

A Prince ought to puniſh the ſaid officers and Magiſtrates, to maintaine his owne reputation, and to auoide the diſhonor which he might incurre, to be accounted a man of ſmall effect, or a wicked man of little wit, for that he knoweth not, or hath not the heart to puniſh; or of wicked, for that he will not puniſh: which things H
make him contemptible and odious, becauſe that debilitie or baſenes of minde maketh him deſpiſed, and wickednes maketh him to be hated,which are the moſt pernicious poyſons that may be in any eſtate. And hence it would follow,that many would be of opinion, that he did participate and had his ſhare in ſuch wrong doings: for ſeeing that hee endureth the ſame, a man might iudge,or ſtand in great doubt, that he had a hand therein, and durſt not puniſh them which enriched his coffers by any meane whatſoeuer. Moreouer, the Prince ought to puniſh his euill officers, thereby to acquire vn-

to

A to himſelfe the generall good will of his ſubiects,and opinion of a iuſt Prince: for it is to be beleeued,that ſuch an officer is ill beloued of all. And for this cauſe when a man ſeeth ſuch a one puniſhed, they praiſe and loue their Prince, which peraduenture before was ill beloued for ſuffering him. Duke *Valentin* well knew this humour,who ſeeing himſelfe hated by the Romanes,by reaſon of the crueltie,iniuſtice, and ill behauiour of *Remire de Orco* a Spaniard,his Lieutenãt in Romania,wherfore he cauſed him one morning to be ſlaine and cut in two pieces in the place of Ceſena: by which deed he acquired to himſelfe the good will of all that prouince. A man
B getteth nothing to ſay, that he ought not to be puniſhed, which is in publike charge and dignitie,for feare to diſhonour the Magiſtracie and dignitie of the place: for the Prince is more diffamed and diſhonoured in ſupporting his iniuſtices, then in puniſhing them. And in like ſort it ſerueth to no purpoſe to ſay,that the Princes ſmal iudgement is diſcouered in hauing choſen him,but it would ſeeme much leſſe to endure him: in the firſt a man might erre through ignorance; but in the ſecond, the errour would bee through malice. And moreouer,he could not be reputed for cruell, becauſe that he which puniſheth by iuſtice,and for the deſerts of him which is pu-
C niſhed,cannot be ſaid to be cruell: neither can he be held for couetous,and when a man ſeeth manifeſt iuſtice, the reproch of couetouſnes can take no place: and when the lawes are executed, it forceth not what the common people ſay. The Prince ought not too furiouſly to haſten puniſhment,but hauing conſidered the qualitie of the perſon, the number of his offences, the manner of his iniuſtice, and other circumſtances requiſit, hee ought then to doe that which by iuſtice is required,but aboue all things hee ought not to leaue the malefactor vnpuniſhed, and if ſuch miniſter or officer haue greatly offended, he ought to puniſh him for examples ſake
D for the wrongs which hee hath done: and if hee haue committed but one fault or iniuſtice,to the end that he doe no more ſo.

Duke Valentin cauſed Ramire de orco a Spaniard,his Lieutenant,to be ſlaine in Romania for doing iniuſtice.

CHAP. 53.

To vſe crueltie, is commonlie hurtfull to him that vſeth it.

IT is a moſt great fault in a Prince or Captaine, F
to be very cruell, eſpecially towards innocent perſons, or ſuch as haue little offended: for ſuch cruell actions haue euer been hurtfull to them which haue vſed them, becauſe that with perpetuall diſhonour and infamie, they haue loſt both their eſtate & life: as it happened vnto *Aprius* K. of Egypt, who for a bruti ſh and cruell act, practiſed againſt one who was his familiar friend and an able man, was by his owne ſubiects depriued both of his Realme and life. After that *Samnis* King of Egypt was dead, *Aprius* G
his ſonne ſucceeded in the kingdome; who after a great loſſe receiued in a battaile giuen betweene him and the Cirenean s, the Egyptians imputing this ouerthrowe to his imprudence and want of iudgement, rebelled againſt him, ſaying, that he expreſſely was the cauſe of this ruine: to the end that hauing diſpatched ſo many men which were ſlaine in the battaile, hee might the more ſafely make himſelfe Lord of all Egypt. The Egyptians being vnable to endure ſuch an ouerthrow and ſlaughter of their people, (as well of thoſe which eſcaped from the battaile, as of their friends which were H
ſlaine in it) openly rebelled. *Aprius* aduertiſed hereof, ſent *Amaſis* an eloquent man and of great authoritie, to the end that by his eloquence and ſmooth words he ſhould reduce them to his obedience. *Amaſis* executed, or ſeemed to execute, the charge committed vnto him by the King, and being come to the townes which rebelled, hee reproued them with great grauitie of ſpeech, and endeuoured to reduce them to the Kings obedience. But while as he was talking vnto them in this manner, one *Egizius* bound his Murrion or Burgonet about with a band, and hauing ſo bound it, he put it vpon *Amaſis* head, and ſaid vnto him, that he did put it vpon his

Herodot. lib. 2

head

A head as if it were the royall crowne, and preſently they all proclaimed him King of Egypt. Wherefore the aforeſaid *Amaſis*, fearing King *Aprius*, prepared himſelfe to goe againſt him, and to defend himſelfe from him, if he came to ſuppreſſe him. *Aprius* was aduertiſed hereof, and ſent to him an Egyptian, which abode with him, named *Papremitan*, a man of great reputation and authoritie, to the end to bring to him *Amaſis*, which was made King. *Papremitan*, being come where *Amaſis* was, which was on horſebacke, exhorting his people couragiouſly to follow him, began to pray him that hee would come with him to King *Aprius:* to whom *Amaſis* anſwered,
B that he had long ſince made preparation to come vnto him, and he would now ſo doe it, that *Aprius* ſhould haue no occaſion to complaine of him, for that hee would not ſtay long before hee went to ſeeke him, and would bring others with him. By theſe words *Papremitan* knew his intent, and ſeeing how he had prouided for his deſſeignes, returned preſently to aduertiſe *Aprius* of the manifeſt rebellion of *Amaſis*. *Papremitan* being returned to *Aprius*, who ſo ſoone as he ſaw that he had not brought *Amaſis* with him, without hearing him ſpeake, was ſo much diſpleaſed, that he cauſed his noſe and his eares to be cut off: for the which cruell and inhumane fact,
C the other Egyptians which till then remained with him, conſidering that ſo worthie a man was ſo cruelly handled, with ſo great ſhame and indignitie, they all at an inſtant, without any patience, mutining, forſooke him, and went to his enemies campe: and *Aprius* being by them aſſaulted, was put to flight and taken by *Amaſis:* and ſo *Aprius*, which was of opinion that no man in the world had been able to put him from his kingdome, being (as he thought) ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, hauing proued the fortune of the warre, was ouercome and led away priſoner. And although that for certain daies he were honorably entreated by *Amaſis*, at length the Egyptians vnable to
D endure ẏ he, which with ſo great crueltie had vſed *Papremitan*, a perſonage of ſo great worth amongſt them, ſhould be kept by *Amaſis* in ſo great delights, pleaſures and honors, in great furie they required to haue him into their hands. Wherefore *Amaſis* deliuered him into their power, who after they had ſhamefully vſed him, they ſtrãgled him. Let Princes then and great Lords hauing great eſtates, leaue to be inhumane, and not to be carried away by wrath and choler, and ſo commit things vnworthie their greatnes: for one cruell act ſufficeth to alienate the hearts of their friends, and likewiſe make them oftentimes to loſe both life and eſtate.

Aprius *King of Egypt cauſed the noſe and eares of* Papremitan *to be cut off.*

Aprius *King of Egypt ſtrangled by his ſubiects.*

E

CHAP. 54.

Let no man giue credit to the promises, sauegard or assurance of a cruell man, which desireth to rule and gouerne.

AS gentlenes and clemencie in a Prince haue the power to draw vnto him the loue and good will, not F onely of his owne people and friends, but also of strangers and of his enemies: There was nothing in the world that made the Romane Commonwealth so glorious and triumphant, but iustice, clemencie and loyaltie, vsed euen towards their emulators and most mortall enemies: the ancient and moderne authors haue hereof greatly praised and esteemed *Iulius Cæsar*, none of them knowing certainly how to determine what made his Empire greater and him finally Lord of the Romane Empire, whether his celeritie and expedition in executing his enterprises, or his great liberalitie, by G meanes whereof his souldiers did what he would; or his modestie, benignitie and clemencie, which he vsed towards his most capitall enemies, which hee receiued, fauoured, and made great: Euen so, crueltie accompanied with ambition, and desire to rule and become rich, haue the power in a cruell and couetous Prince, not onely to alienate from him straungers and enemies, but also his subiects and greatest friends; becausse that the Prince being by nature vnfaithfull, and accustomed to shed humane blood, is not to spare either friends or parents, and much lesse his emulators, corriuals, competitors, or enemies; but with all dissimu- H lation, fraud and deceit, hee will seeke to oppresse those, by whose ruine hee may hope to encrease his forces and his owne estate, or in any sort to establish the same. For this cause a man ought not in any case to trust such Princes, neither for promises, for prayers, neither for safegard or assurance giuen whatsoeuer: and those men which commit their persons into the hands of such men, which are ambitious, disloyall, cruell, and accustomed to shed blood, commit a most grosse fault: for vpon the least occasion that may happen, they shall be sure to be most cruelly despoyled of their estates, and there-

A therewith loſe their liues. The Cardinall *Vrſin Vitellozo Vitelli, Pagolo Orſino, Iohn Pagolo Baglioni, Liuorato da Fermo,* and *Iohn Bentiuogli,* and ſome other pettie Lords of Italie, ſeeing the little faith, the great ambition and euill nature of Duke *Valentin,* allied themſelues together, notwithſtanding that they had been his Captaines and Generals in the warres, to oppoſe themſelues againſt the forces of the ſaid Duke, who ſometime bereaued one Lord, and ſometime another of his eſtate: and their forces being vnited all together, were ſuch, that *Valentin* could not annoy them. *Valentin* had recourſe to his ſubtilty and diſſimulation; and ſeeing that he could not reſiſt the B forces of the confederates by force, he ſought by all meanes to diſunite the mindes of theſe Lords, and to make the one to ſuſpect the other, imagining that hee might eaſily ouercome them being diſunited. The confederates might haue put him in great daunger and diſorder, for that that they once had put him to flight neere the citie of Cagli; if they had followed the victorie, *Valentin* had not had the leiſure ſo ſoone to raiſe himſelf againe. But he continuing ſtiffe and reſolute to conclude the agreement, which was alreadie begun, humbling himſelfe, and promiſing to his enemies all that which they could demaund, brought the matter ſo wel about, that of moſt C mortall enemies that they were vnto him, they became his Leaders, Captaines and Souldiers, as in former time they had been, and ſerued him with their Infantrie and men at armes againſt the Duke of Vrbin: which was a moſt groſſe and foule fault. And *Valentin* hauing taken by their meanes the eſtate of Vrbin, and ſtill remembring the hatred conceiued againſt them, he cauſed them to be apprehended in Sinigaglia, and there to be hanged and ſtrangled by the hands of a hangman, and taught them to know that it was not lawfull for Captaines to dallie and ieſt with Dukes and their Superiours, to make an oth and to breake it as a man will, and afterwards D to truſt to a cruell tyrant, who to encreaſe his eſtate turned al things vpſide downe. And if any man would excuſe them and ſay, that they for feare of the forces of the King of France (who had alreadie ſent ſuccours to *Valentin*) made this agreement: I anſwere them, that hauing taken armes againſt him, for the preſeruation of their eſtates and liues, it had beene better to haue left all to the incertaine hazard and lot of the warre, then to giue credit to the words of one, who had neuer maintained his faith, agreement nor promiſe with any man, whom they themſelues held for a Prince faithleſſe, treacherous, cruell, and diſloyall.

Guicciard. lib.

The cunning of Duke Valentin.

Cagli.

The cruelti.e and treaſon of Duke Valentin.

CHAP. 55.

It is a pernicious thing for a Prince to haue two Generals in the warres, which ſtriue for preheminence, or betweene whom is enuie and emulation.

IF the error of a Prince or Common-wealth be great, which hauing any warre either ciuill or forrain, admitteth into his holds and townes any garriſon and other men at armes, who after they haue ouercome the enemie may alſo ſubdue him, or them which ſet them at work, and in whoſe pay they haue made the warre: that Prince or Common-wealth ſhall commit a moſt great fault, who hauing or being to make warre againſt puiſſant and politike enemies, ſhall hire and take into his ſeruice ſundrie principall Commanders in the warre, which doe enuie one another for glorie, or are ſmall friends, hauing equall power, and almoſt the ſame authoritie: the ſecond error bringeth peraduenture no leſſe euill and preiudice, that is to wit, to haue two Generals which may warre for the preheminence, or which are emulators, enuying the one the other. The firſt fault to eſtabliſh & ſettle within the countrie, and as a man might ſay in the houſe, a ſuccour and garriſon of men of warre, which after the victorie obtained againſt the enemies, turne and band themſelues againſt the Conquerour, by dexteritie may eaſily be auoided, by not truſting wholy thereto: but as for the other, if the euill be ſecret and far off, a man ſhall hardly foreſee and take order for it. For this cauſe *Lycurgus*, the moſt wiſe lawmaker, ordained in his lawes that the Kings of Sparta, in their ciuill gouernment, ſhould not doe any thing but in the companie of the Magiſtrate: but in time of warres in the field with the armie, he would that they ſhould haue ſupreame power and authoritie, that they alone ſhould commaund, that all ſhould depend of their will, and that the regall authoritie ſhould no way be reſtrained, ioyning certaine counſellors vnto him, to conſult with them of the affaires

Lycurgus his law.

of

A of the warre: which *Lycurgus* did with great iudgement; becauſe that knowing and foreſeeing well, that when the armies are oppoſit the one before the other ready to giue battaile, the leaſt ſtay or ſlacknes ſufficeth to let ſlip a moſt happie ſucceſſe and noble victorie, from the one and to giue it to his enemie: for then is no time to be buſied about the aduice and opinion of many: and it is a dangerous matter when ſouldiers are commanded by many heads, who for enuie or hatred raigning betweene them, or for their obſtinacie or temeritie for the moſt part, agree not together: and for this cauſe hauing confirmed and vnited all the power and authoritie in one man
B alone, and hauing cut off all concurrence and enuie which maketh them equall in diſcord, he willed that he alone ſhould gouerne all, and that all the armie ſhould readily obey him. As for the firſt fault wee haue infinit examples in hiſtories both ancient and moderne: but this for the preſent ſhall ſuffice, recited by *Fazel* in the ninth book of the firſt Decade of Sicilie, to ſhew how dangerous a thing it is for a Prince to haue to his aide and ſuccour a mightie garriſon, which afterwards he ſhall not be able to reſiſt. The Reginos (a people of Sicilie) were once diuided into two factions, and made ciuill warre: it came to paſſe that one of theſe parties called to their aide
C the Imereſiens, which then were very mightie, who comming thither, were receiued into Reggio: and after that the Imereſiens had chaſed away the contrarie partie, enemie to that which called them thither, they likewiſe chaſed away their friends, and made themſelues Lords and Maſters of the Citie of Reggio. And as for the euill which happeneth through two Generals of equall authoritie in one armie, theſe three ſhort examples ſhall beare witneſſe: the firſt is recited by *Cornelius Tacitus* in his 19. booke, *Fabius Valens*, and *L. Cecinna* were chiefe and Captaines for the Emperour *Vitellius*, and ſo hated the one the other, that but for the reſpect they had
D to the Emperours ſeruice, they had ruinated the eſtate of Rome: in fine, the one being vnable to endure the other, and *Cecinna* thinking himſelfe in leſſe reputation then the other with *Vitellius*, vſed treaſon, and departed from the pay and ſeruice of *Vitellius*; and *Valens* remaining alone, being vnable to beare the burthen of the warre which *Veſpaſian* waged againſt him, was ouercome and taken priſoner: and *Vitellius* was depriued of his life and Empire. *Fazel* alleageth another example in his ſixt booke of the hiſtorie of Sicilie; *Leo*, and *Procopius* were chiefe Generals in Italie for *Baſilius* the Emperour of Conſtantinople: theſe in a battaile at ſea againſt the Saraſins,

Fazel in the ninth booke of the firſt Decade of the hiſtory of Sicilie.

The Imereſiens ſeaze vpon Reggio.

The Emperour Vitellius *was ouercome by* Veſpaſian *the Emperour.*

Fazel *in his 6. booke of the hiſtorie of Sicilie.*

raſins, diuided their armie and fleete into two parts; *Leo* led his part E
on the right hand, and *Procopius* his part on the left; *Leo* of his ſide
ouercame the enemies, and *Procopius* on his part was ouercome:
Leo, notwithſtanding that hee might haue done it, yet would not
helpe him: whereby it happened that *Procopius* dyed, and *Leo* re-
mained alone and was forced to retire, being vnable to reſiſt the
force of the enemies; ſo as the affaires of the Empire proſpered not
ſo well as they might haue done, had there not been malice and e-
mulation betweene the two Generals.

The very ſame befell the Lords of Venice: the Earle of *Petig-*
lian and *Bartelmy Liuiano* were Generals for the Venetians almoſt F
of equall power and authoritie: *Liuiano* at the Ghiarra de Adda
brauely aſſailed his enemies, and began to make them runne; and
if that *Petiglian* had holpen him, the victorie had remained to the
Seigniorie of Venice. *Petiglian* would not helpe him either for the
malice which was betweene them, or for the diſpleaſure conceiued
againſt him, for that he had begun the battaile without aduertiſing
him thereof, whereof enſued the memorable loſſe and ouerthrow
of the battaile of Ghiarra de Adda. Let Princes and Common-
wealths then be well aduiſed, how they receiue forces and garri-
ſons into their holds and townes, for feare they ſhall not be able af- G
ter the warres are ended to put them out, and ſend them backe a-
gaine: let them alſo take heede that they haue not ſeuerall Gene-
rals in their armie of equall power and authoritie, betweene whom
there may be debate and contention for preheminence and ſupe-
rioritie in the leading of the Armie, or betweene whom may bee
hatred and emulation: becauſe that from theſe two faults enſue
the ruine and loſſe of honour of life and eſtate.

CHAP.

Chap. 56.

No man ought to giue credit to the words and promiſes of Fugitiues and runnawaies, for whoſo repoſeth truſt in them, without being well aſſured of them, committeth a great
B *error.*

WE haue ſaid aboue, that it is a great error to vndertake an enterpriſe, through the perſwaſion of Rebels, becauſe that for the moſt part ſuch enterpriſes haue not preuailed, but haue been dammageable and preiudiciall to the authors thereof. But I finde not that there is leſſe danger and preiudice, eaſilie to beleeue thoſe which in deede are, or for ſome plot and ſe-
C cret practiſe faine themſelues to be fugitiues, principally when the warre is open, and to doe any thing at their perſwaſion, may breed great inconuenience. Wherefore I am of opinion, that thoſe Colonels and Captaines doe wiſely, which when any of theſe fugitiues of their owne accord come vnto them, if they preſently truſt them not, nor giue any charge of importance; but opening thē their eyes, marke well their actions and manner of their behauiour, and ſeeming in words and outward ſignes that they truſt them, keepe them buſied, giuing them good hope, vntill they being well certified and aſſured of their nature and qualities, they may afterwards freely
D without any ſuſpition commit to their charge any honourable enterpriſe. That to truſt to the promiſe of fugitiues, is a great fault, and cauſe of moſt notable loſſe and dammage, the Citie of Babylon can well teſtifie, and *Craſſus* Captaine for the Romanes. The Citie was depriued of her libertie and almoſt ruinated; and the other deceiued by a Fugitiue, loſt the Romane Armie and his life with all, which came to paſſe in this manner. The Citie of Babylon rebelled againſt *Darius* King of Perſia, the which to defend it ſelfe, and to reſiſt the forces of *Darius*, and fearing a tedious and long ſiege, made all neceſſarie prouiſion, as well for munition and things appertaining

Craſſus, a Generall for the Romanes, was ouerthrowne and ſlaine, being betrayed by a Fugitiue.

A policy in preſent expence of victuals.

ning to the warres to defend and offend, as for victuals; and to the end that victuals ſhould not be conſumed by idle and vnprofitable perſons for the warres, the Babylonians ſlue all their women, reſeruing onely one in euery houſe, to giue order for thoſe things which there are neceſſarie. *Darius* being aduertiſed of the rebellion and reuolt of ſo noble, rich, and ſtrong a towne, hauing aſſembled a great and mightie armie, and made prouiſion of all things neceſſarie thereto, took his way towards Babylon, and at length beſieged it very ſtrictly on euery ſide: thoſe of Babylon were nothing amazed to ſee ſo great an armie about their walles, but in view of the enemies they daunced vpon their rampiers, and gaue themſelues to feaſting and dancing, and alſo vſed ſome iniurious ſpeeches againſt the Perſians, without fearing or caring for the enemie, or his forces: the ſiege remained before the citie one whole yeere and ſeuen moneths continually, and it was not poſſible to get it by force, policie, nor promiſe; for all that ſerued to no purpoſe. But a gentleman of Perſia called *Zophir*, perceiuing that all the Perſians, and the King himſelfe, were wearie of ſo long a ſiege, attempted a moſt couragious and profitable enterpriſe for his King: for hauing communicated his deſſeignes and the courſe which he meant to hold to the King, he marred and mangled al his face with a knife, and fled from the Kings Campe to the Citie of Babylon. The Babylonians ſeeing him ſo ill handled receiued him friendly, and thinking that without any malice, or faining, hee was fled to the towne, they had many ſecret diſcourſes with him, whereby they were perſwaded that he was a deadly enemie to the King of Perſia; and they gaue him certaine companies of ſouldiers in charge: the tenth day he ſallied out of the towne with his companies, and ſlew a thouſand Perſian ſouldiers, the which, according to the order concluded and agreed vpon betweene King *Darius* and *Zophir*, had made a roade euen vnto the gate of Semiramis, which wanne *Zophir* great honour and marueilous credit among the Babylonians. Seuen daies after King *Darius* ſent another Captaine, with two thouſand ſouldiers to the port of Ninus, which valiantly defending themſelues, in the end were cut in peeces. Twentie daies after (following the accorde and agreement) the King failed not to ſend foure thouſand ſouldiers to the port of Caldea, the which likewiſe were defeated by the Babylonians, by reaſon whereof, *Zophir* was held by them in ſuch reputation, that they put into his hands the gouernment of the towne, and charge of the warre againſt the Perſians, and *Darius* at the time appointed

Babilon ſtrictly beſieged, and the ſiege thereof.

F

G

H

Zophir *by fraud put the citie of Babilon into the hands of King* Darius.

A pointed,with all his whole armie valiantly aſſaulted the Citie of Babylon,and while as the people were vpon the walles to put back the enemie, *Zophir* opened two ports to the Perſian armie,the port Ciſiana and Belida, which being entred into the towne,ſacked it,and the King cauſed the ports of the Citie to be taken away,defaced all, and put to death 3000. of the moſt noble and principall of the Citie.Hereby the Babylonians to their great loſſe knew, the great fault which they had committed, to beleeue a man which fained himſelfe to be a fugitiue, and to giue him the charge and gouernment of their Citie.

B

Chap. 57.

One word only being miſunderſtood,may breede great hurt.

C BEſides many examples which might be alleaged,to ſhew that in the affaires of warre, the leaſt fault that a man can doe may bee verie preiudiciall, I propound this, which conſiſteth in a word ill vnderſtood, and ill interpreted. In the time that the factions of the Guelphes and Gibelins troubled Italie,there were two houſes at Peruſa(to wit) of the *Oddi*,and the *Baglioni:* the *Oddi* were in that towne the chiefe of the faction of the Gibelins; and the *Baglioni*,of the Guelphs. The *Oddi* were chaſed out of Peruſa, and being reſolued to returne, through
D the helpe of the Gibelins of the townes neere adioyning, they entred one night into Peruſa, with ſo great amazement of the *Baglioni*,that being out of hope to be able to defend themſelues,they began to flie. But they by an accident altogether vnthought of, or(if wee may ſo ſay) by an error,loſt the victorie, which could not haue beene taken from them by the enemies. There were chaines croſſe the ſtreetes of Peruſa, as at that time was the cuſtome in townes which maintained the factions: and the *Oddi* being come as farre as the place without any let or hindrance, a ſouldier with a ſledge, which he of purpoſe carried to that effect, would haue bro-

ken one of theſe chaines, being drawne, and being vnable to lift vp E
his armes and vſe his hands at pleaſure, becauſe of the other ſouldiers of his partie, which were in a troupe round about him, he began to crie, backe, backe, backe; which hee ſaid, to the end that they ſhould giue backe, and make more roome to giue him meane to breake the chaine. But this word being giuen from the one to the other, was vnderſtood as if he had willed them to flie: and ſo putting themſelues to flight, gaue occaſion to the *Baglioni*, to recouer heart and to follow them, and they not onely draue them out of the Citie, but ſlew many in the heate of the chaſe and fight, and afterwards put many of them to death by the hands of the Execu- F
tioner.

CHAP. 58.

VVho ſo will impart vnto his ſeruant any ſecret concerning his life or honour, muſt reſolue with himſelfe, neuer after to G
diſpleaſe him.

AMong the faultes, which men of cuſtome commit, this to me hath euer ſeemed very great in matters of importance, which concerne a mans honour or his life, to truſt to ſeruants. The wiſe man ſaith, if thou haue a good and faithfull ſeruant, loue him as thy ſoule, touching the which words, is to be vnderſtoode, that to know a good ſeruant, there H
is no great difficultie, for the whole conſiſteth in this: he is called a good ſeruant, which loueth his Maſters profit better than his owne, which is alſo ſaid of a good ſeruant and officer of a Prince: but it is a very hard matter to finde one which loueth better another mans profit than his owne, principallie amongſt that kinde of people which get their liuing in other mens ſeruice; and truly that Maſter may holde himſelfe happie, whoſe hap is to meete with ſuch a ſeruant which loueth him better than himſelfe; and certainelie ſuch a ſeruant doth worthelie deſerue to be beloued of his Maſter,

definition of a good ſeruant

as

A as his owne life. But for as much as this kinde of men are ordinarilie of condition and blood, baſe; by reaſon whereof they are generallie of a cowardly heart, I finde it not expedient to truſt to them, without firſt hauing good experience and proofe of their goodnes and fidelitie, that a man may know, that they would more good to their Maſters, than to themſelues. I ſpeake not of that kinde of ſeruants which are otherwiſe called ſlaues, for that a man may well finde ſlaues which are noble; neither of thoſe which voluntarilie follow ſome great Lord, and doe him ſeruice; but I ſpeake of thoſe, which conſtrained by neceſſitie, hauing no occupation or arte to
B get their liuing, put themſelues to ſerue for wages and hire by the moneth, or otherwiſe: a man ought to proue the goodnes and fidelitie of ſuch men. This experience may bee had by meane of two things, which of cuſtome haue bin the ciment of all humane harts, (to wit) in giuing him the handling of money, and the gouernment of women: if he continue firme and conſtant in the gouernment of theſe two things, a man may know that he is a good and a loyall ſeruant. In an officer and ſeruant of a Prince, beſides theſe ciments, I would ſay, that it were the ambition, affecting, or deſire of eſtate: but becauſe that that ſeldome happeneth, I will not ſpeake thereof:
C beſides this, that a Prince hauing truſted his honour, or imparted ſome great ſecret with his faithfull ſeruant, to whom afterwards he happily doth diſpleaſure, he hath no cauſe to bee afraid of him, being able in a thouſand manners to defeate him: But ſtanding vpon the former concluſion, and ſpeaking of ordinarie ſeruants, I ſay that whoſoeuer doth reſolue to impart vnto him any ſecret, the reuealing wherof importeth his life or his honor, he ought to reſolue and determine with himſelfe, neuer after to doe him any diſpleaſure. And my reaſon is this, That a man naturally is of a generous hart, & can hardly endure diſpleaſures and iniuries; and there is no man, how baſe ſoeuer he bee, that taketh pleaſure to be deſpiſed and not
D accounted of, if hee be not ſome foole or ſome mad man. Preſuppoſe then, that the ſeruant be endued with good qualities and conditions, and that his Maſter hath oftentimes had experience of his fidelitie; I ſay neuertheleſſe, hee muſt alwaies hold him as a ſeruant, and not ſo much aſſure himſelf of him, that in communicating with him matters of importance, that of a Maſter hee become a ſeruant, and be to liue with ſo great reſpect of him, that he be conſtrained to endure ſome indignities, for that he knoweth that his ſeruant is acquainted with his ſecrets. Moreouer, when ſeruants ſee that they

Diſcretion of ſeruants.

The truall of a good ſeruant.

haue their foote vpon their Maſters throte, vſually they become in- E
ſolent and proud; and their pride is ſometime ſuch, that they preſume to debate with their Maſter, and in a preſumptuous manner giue him word for word; and the poore Maſter fearing that the ſeruant ſhould diſcouer his ſecret, muſt endure it, and oftentimes hold his peace, and yeeld vnto his ſeruant, as ouercome: and when at length, conſtrained by his mans inſolence, or his owne impatience, hee reſolueth to put him away, or to beate him with a cudgell, or to doe him ſome other diſpleaſure, although he haue deſerued it, he is forced to liue continually in feare, that his offended ſeruant will be
reuenged of the diſpleaſure receiued, in reuealing the ſecret impar- F
ted vnto him, by reaſon whereof hee may loſe his honor or his life. In my time in Florence, there happened the like caſe; A citizen of Florence, either to reuenge the death of a kinſeman of the ſame houſe and familie, who by way of iuſtice had his head cut off, for ill managing the publike treaſure in exceſſiue expences, or for ſome other reaſon which I could not vnderſtand, had a deſire to haue ſlaine *Coſmo de Medicis*, then great Duke of Tuſcane, notwithſtanding that hee had enioyed much good by him; and hauing neuer diſcouered this his thought to any man, but conſpired it with himſelfe alone, at length he imparted this ſecret vnto one who was his G
ſeruant, who ſhot very well with a Harquebuze, and deſired him to make a ſhot at the Duke, when he ſhould be on hunting, lying alone in ſome buſh, as oftentimes he did. The ſeruant would not performe ſuch a treaſon; and in a while after ſome diſcord falling betweene the Maſter and the man, about a Iacke of Maile, and the ſeruant finding himſelfe grieued, left his Maſter and went to ſerue the Prouoſt of the field; who vpon a time asked of him how his old Maſter did vſe him: he anſwered, hee vſed me very ill, and if I would I could requite him that I could. In what manner couldeſt thou requite him, ſaid the Prouoſt? Then hee opened vnto him his Maſters in- H
ſtant requeſt, which he made vnto him to kill the Duke. Wherefore hee was taken, and deliuered into the hands of Iuſtice, and of the Magiſtrate of eight, and the trueth being diſcouered, he was condemned to dye, and was executed: which hee peraduenture had eſcaped, if he had not reuealed his ſecret to his ſeruant; or after that he had diſcouered it, if hee had vſed him in ſuch ſort as he had had no occaſion to goe diſcontented from him, and then to diſcouer it.

CHAP.

CHAP. 59.

It hath euer been held for a thing blame worthie, to vaunt and boaſt by word or writing; and he greatly erreth, who promiſeth to himſelfe any certaintie of a doubtfull enemie.

B IF men which make profeſſion to haue honorable charges, as well in ciuill gouernment, as in managing the warres, be not naturallie endued with prudence, truly they are ſubiect to a thouſand errors which they commit, either through negligence in not foreſeeing what may happen contrarie to their deſſeignes, or by raſhlie promiſing ſo much of themſelues, that they are perſwaded through their wit and induſtrie, to make C any thing eaſie, how hard ſoeuer it be. This perſwaſion accompanied with their little wit, maketh them to tumble headlong into the glorie of boaſting with liuelie ſpeeches of the voyce, or by words in writing, and make certaine promiſes to themſelues and to others, which when the matter commeth to the iſſue, they know to their ſhame, and ſometime to their loſſe, that it had been much better to promiſe leſſe, to ſpeake little, and to write more wiſelie than they before haue ſpoken, promiſed, and written. *Iulius Cæſar* was neuer knowne to ſay, I will goe, I will ſee, I will ouercome: but when he had happilie atchieued his enterpriſe, he ſaid, *Veni, vidi, vici*, I came, D ſaw, and I ouercame: for he well knew how incertaine the iſſues of things are, which are at Fortunes diſcretion, whoſe power and inconſtancie, if a man knew, it is principallie in the warres. And a wiſe Captaine ought not haſtilie to ſpeake or write things for certaine and true, which may be otherwiſe: to affirme a certaintie for an incertaintie, is the part of a raſh man, and of a foole: for beſides the blame of inconſideration and vaine boaſting, he loſeth much credit and reputation; neither is he ſo much eſteemed as before, and ſometimes is puniſhed for his inſolencie and raſhnes.

Publike perſons hauing charge, endur many errors, if they be not endued with wiſdome.

Things which may be or not be, and depend of the will of Fortune, ought not conſtantly to be affirmed before that they are performed.

Miltiades a moſt famous Captaine of the Athenians, hauing

gotten the victorie at the battaile of Marathon, againſt the Barba- E
rous, acquired great honour and reputation to the Citie of Athens.
This man truſting in his fortune, and promiſing himſelfe too much
of his valour, hauing a particular quarrell againſt *Liſagoras* Prince
of the Iſle of Para, who had accuſed him of treaſon, reſolued to be
reuenged: he went to the Senate of Athens, demaunding of them
ſixtie armed Galleyes, vaunting much, and promiſing with great
audacitie, that he would not onely bring them home againe ſafe
and whole, but alſo loden with golde; without declaring whither
he would leade them. The Athenians which had him in great ac-
count, and hauing made triall of his valour, ſetting their hearts and F
mindes vpon the treaſure promiſed, without further conſideration,
gaue him all that hee deſired: and hauing an Armie, furniture, and
prouiſion neceſſarie for the warres, he ſailed directly to the Iſle of
Para, ſaining that he would auenge the iniurie done by the Parians
vnto all Grecia, when they came to Marathon in the ayde of the
Barbarians: but the truth was, that he ſought to be auenged on *Li-*
ſagoras. *Milciades* being arriued in the Iſland, conſtrained the Pa-
rians by force of Armes to retire into a fortreſſe, which he beſieged
round about, and threatned the beſieged, that he would raſe their
Towne, except they would giue him an hundred thouſand talents. G
The Parians ſtood vpon their garde: and while as they valiantly de-
fended themſelues, *Milciades* ſpake in ſecret with the ſhe Prieſt of
Ceres, called *Timo*, wonne by him either by prayers and intreatie
or money, ſhe led him vpon the wall which compaſſed the Temple
about; but while as he walked with her, to view the place moſt fit
to giue the aſſault, and ſaw where he might moſt eaſilie enter, ſur-
priſed with a great religious feare, being in a ſacred place, he retur-
ned trembling by the ſame way that hee came, and as hee went
downe the wall, he fell and brake one of his thighes: by which ac-
cident he was conſtrained to returne, and bring backe home againe H
the fleete loden with ſhame and loſſe, in liew of golde which he ſo
boldly had promiſed: and ſhewed to the world how vaine a thing
it is to promiſe ſuch things, in the execution whereof, there may
happen and growe a thouſand impeachments and misfortunes,
and which may haue an end cleane contrarie to that which a man
hath promiſed. And although that many times a man vſe all dili-
gence, and doe all that is requiſite to attaine to the deſired end: yet
neuertheleſſe, ſeeing that accidents are infinite, and not poſibly to
be foreſeene, a man ought to be aduiſed what he ſaith, and how he

promiſe

promiſe the euent of things, as a wiſe man, and with the circumſtances, which may in all occaſions make him reputed rather ſomewhat infortunate, than ouer raſh and preſumptuous.

Terentius Varro (as *Titus Liuius* writeth) fell into this error of boaſting, who being Conſul and chiefe of the Romane armie againſt *Hanniball*, at the ſame day an houre wherein he receiued the Militarie Enſignes of the Senate and of the Romane people, very raſhly ſaid, that the firſt day wherein he did diſplay thoſe Colours againſt the Carthagenians, he would end the warre, blaming *Fabius Maximus* for his ſlacknes, and foreſlowing it by delaies. But the ſucceſſe of the matter made him to know that it had more auailed to haue ſpoken leſſe; for he had no ſooner diſplaied the Romane Enſignes againſt the Carthagenians, but he ſaw himſelf miſerably ouercome and put to flight, in that notable and memorable battaile of Cannas. In the yeere 1513. the Lord of Tremouille being ſent by *Lewes* the 12. King of France, to the enterpriſe of Milan, againſt *Maximilian Sforce*, the ſonne of *Lewes More*, fell into this error. This man ſeeing that the Duke was retired to Nouarra, and that the Swiſſers had vndertaken to defend him, he wrote to the King of France very inconſideratly, and with great preſumption, that hee would deliuer the ſonne priſoner as he had alreadie done the father. But the iſſue ſhewed afterwards, that it had been better for his reputation that he had written more modeſtly, for hee was conſtrained to retire from Nouarra, without doing ought: for the Swiſſers ſallied forth with a reſolution to charge the French Campe, & being but a few, without horſe or Artillerie, they came to blowes, and in this aſſault, with a marueilous bold hardines, they tooke from the French 22. peeces of Artillerie, put them to flight, and ſlew many, although that of the Swiſſers were ſlaine about fifteene hundred men. And ſo the iſſue of the battaile ſhewed to the Lord of Tremouille, how vaine a thing it is to promiſe that, which is in the hand of God, as hee who onely may grant it, or not. And although that he which would defend the Lord of Tremouille, might ſay, that hee wrote thoſe words to note the couetouſneſſe of the Swiſſers, which for money had alreadie deliuered *Lewes* Duke of Milan, into the hands of the French, and that hee meant to follow the ſame rule, to make *Maximilian* alſo his priſoner.

Titus Liuius *in the ſecond booke of his third Decade.*

Terentius Varro *defeated by the Carthagenians.*

The French ouerthrowne by the Swiſſers.

A young Florentine in the yeere 1527. eſteemed very braue and valiant in armes, but a great prater and boaſter, being to fight with another young man, who, becauſe hee was melancholike and ſpake

little, was called *Forchebene*, going in companie with many others towards the place where they were to fight, which was the walking place for fooles, without the Port of Saint Gal; and being come to the Port, a Cuſtomer, his friend, went to him and ſayd: God giue you the victorie, and the proude young man adding blaſphemie to his temeritie, anſwered, How ſhall he but giue it me? They came to vſe their weapons, and after many blowes giuen and taken, by the one and the other, *Forchebene* being become, as the Miniſter and inſtrument of God, gaue him a thruſt in the mouth with ſuch force, that hauing faſtened his tongue to the pole of his necke, where the ſword went through aboue the length of a palme and more, he made him fall downe dead, the ſword remaining in his mouth, to the end that the tongue which ſo grieuouſlie had offended God, being thruſt through, ſhould alſo in this world indure puniſhment for ſo horrible a ſinne. It is then a diſhoneſt thing, in a Captaine and in euery man, to vaunt and boaſt of that which may be, and not be; to doe, and to be ſilent, is more to be eſteemed, than to babble, or vainely to write, and be reputed a man full of winde and vaine-glorie.

CHAP. 60.

VVhich may be conſidered and learned by the Lords of Venice, who would not ſuffer a Gentleman of theirs, to kill Lewes Sforce *Duke of Milan.*

THE Lords of Venice and *Lewes Sforce* entred into league againſt *Charles* the eyght, King of France, and held the Towne of Nouarra ſtreightly beſieged, wherein was the Duke of Orleance, brother to the King, who to deliuer the Duke his brother, came to a peace with *Lewes Sforce*, and the peace being made, the Venetian Armie being to returne, was conſtrained to paſſe through the eſtate of Milan: but *Lewes* which bare them no good will, commaunded his Captaines, that in all places

places where the Venetians ſhould paſſe, they ſhould ſhew themſelues in Armes; and ſo at all paſſages of Riuers, and in all places where was any daunger to paſſe, he made the boates to be taken away: which *Lewes* did, to the end that the Venetian Souldiers ſhould not ſaue themſelues, and goe out of his Countrey, without his leaue and permiſſion, or againſt his will; and to ſay the trueth, they were incloſed, and muſt in a manner debate by force at euery paſſage; which greatly diſpleaſed the Lords, and they much blamed the diſloyaltie of *Lewes*. In the Venetian Armie, was *Bernard Contarini*, Collonell of the Albanois horſemen, a man of a high minde, reſolute and valorous. He gaue the chiefe commaunders to vnderſtand, that if they would giue him leaue, he would finde a meane to paſſe, and to cut off all lets, which was, to kill *Lewes*, while as he were talking with him in his Chamber, ſhewing by liuely reaſons that there was no cauſe of feare, for neither the Citie nor the eſtate of Milan would riſe by reaſon of his death. The Purueyours and chiefe commaunders of the Armie would not graunt this leaue to *Contarini*, but they tolde him, that they would giue the Senate to vnderſtand of this his propoſition, and that then they would gouerne themſelues, according to their anſwere. The Fathers anſwered, that they would in no caſe giue conſent to ſuch homicide, for that it agreed not with the dignitie of their Common-wealth; and thanking *Bernard* for his good will, they commaunded him to giue ouer that enterpriſe: and for as much as they knew him to be a man that would as ſoone doe it as ſpeake it, they commaunded him ſo expreſſely, and forbad him ſo ſtrictly, that *Contarini* forbare to performe what he had determined. In this act the Venetians imitated the great *Fabritius*, and the generoſitie of the Romanes, who would not accept the offer of *Pyrrhus* King of the Epirotes his Phiſitian, who offered to make his Maſter to dye; and ſhewed that the vertue and greatnes of an excellent and mightie Common-wealth, conſiſteth in vanquiſhing and ouercomming their enemies by valour and proweſſe, and not through vice and treaſon, as in the end they had done if *Lewes* had continued in vſing their Armie in that manner as an enemie. A man may alſo conſider by this doing of the Venetians, that it is a diſhoneſt thing to vſe treaſon, and to put to death noble Princes and honourable Captaines, by vnlawfull and diſhoneſt meanes: And therefore *Guicciardin* with great grauitie, doth reprehend the reſolution taken by certaine Spaniſh Captaines in the yeare 1514. who hauing ſent

Bembo *in his booke of the hiſtorie of Venice.*

Bernard Contarini *purpoſed to haue ſlaine the Duke of Milan.*

The Venetians vvould not ſuffer Bernard Contarini *to execute his diſſeigne.*

The villanie of certaine Spaniſh Captaines, who by treaſon would haue cauſed the Aluian a Captain of the Venetians to haue been ſlaine.

ſent ſome of their ſouldiers to Padua, vnder colour of fugitiues, E with commiſſion to kill the *Aluian*, hoping eaſily to haue this towne, being in diſorder and confuſion through the death of ſo great a Captaine, and ſaid, that the manner of the warres and Arte Militarie in theſe daies, is farre different from the vertue of the auncients, for they ſuborned no murtherers: but if any one practiſed any treaſon, they reuealed it to the enemie, truſting to ſubdue them by their proweſſe. If the Venetians did not diſcouer to *Lewes* the danger wherein he was, they ſhewed neuertheleſſe a great bountie and vertue, that they ſuffered him not to bee ſlaine, as they might haue done. Let Princes alſo conſider, and aduiſe themſelues well, F that they abuſe not or deale ill with thoſe which haue beene their good friends, and haue ſerued them faithfully, for they are in daunger of their liues, not onely in the open fields, but euen in their chambers haue the poyniard at their boſome.

CHAP. 61. G

In time of warre it is not good to hold places which are ill and hard to be kept, and to ſtop paſſages.

SEeing that at the comming of the French into Italie in the yeere 1515. in the time of *Francis* the firſt King of France, it manifeſtly appeared to what paſſe it came to hold difficill places, ill to be kept, and to ſtop paſſages: it ſhall bee alſo good to conſider, as diuers writers H haue done, and whether it bee a ſure way, chiefly when the enemy is mightie, & knoweth that hee ſhall be troubled in his paſſage, and that the paſſage is mountainous, ſtreight and hard to paſſe. That this is no ſure way, a man may ſee by theſe reaſons. Firſt, that no man ought to put all his fortune in danger, and not all his forces: for to doe ſo, is a manifeſt follie, as when a man putteth all his eſtate to the triall of a combat, of two or three, which, as arbitrators, are to determine and decide the controuerſie of that eſtate, as the Romanes and the Albanians did,

It is follie to commit to the will of a few the ſtate of an Empire.

A did,by the combat of the *Horatij* and the *Curatij*, where both the one and the other Empire put in daunger their whole fortune, but not their whole forces. Secondly, becauſe that the paſſages are ſtreight, and mountainous, where many men of warre cannot accommodate themſelues,a man putteth in great danger the garriſon which he ſendeth thither: for the enemie encreaſing,may force the place,and by this meane part of the forces is loſt, and this loſſe,how little ſoeuer it be, cannot be but dangerous and preiudiciall; ſeeing that in ſuch places a man alwaies placeth valiant men. Thirdly,becauſe that the enemies comming is incertaine and vnknowne, and
B ſuch mountainous places, being barren, cold,and full of all vnreſt, the ſouldiers being ſent thither,vnable to ſtay there long,as well for the dearth of victuall,as for the difficultie to encampe and to lodge, ſhall be conſtrained to abandon them,and ſo you ſhal in vaine haue wearied and tired your ſouldiers, to their great diſcommoditie. In the fourth place, for as much as the mountaines are great, hauing diuers places to paſſe, the enemie may leaue the paſſages which are guarded, and paſſe by waies better knowne to the inhabitants, then to thoſe which hold the guards,and come downe without that any know how,or which way they came,as it happened to thoſe which
C truſting & aſſuring themſelues that the Swiſſers,which were ſet and appointed to keepe the paſſage in the Alpes, and to ſtop the paſſage againſt the French,knew that the Lieutenant Generall to the King of France,had taken *Proſpero Colomna* priſoner,in Villa Francha, before they knew that they were paſt the mountaines. Wherefore the Swiſſers being deceiued in the paſſage of the French,and the Princes aſtoniſhed,which had taken vpon them to defend Milan againſt them,and perceiued that it had been much better to haue let them paſſe by the ordinarie way,and at the deſcent from the mountaines to haue charged them, then in keeping thoſe paſſages in vaine, to
D haue afterwards much trouble and paine before they can aſſemble themſelues together with all their forces,to trie al their fortune. But it often commeth to paſſe,that whereas they ought to haue left the paſſage which was guarded, or loſing it by ſome occaſion, there is ſuch a feare and terror ſtriken into the harts of the people and ſouldiers, which truſted in that place, that being vnable to make experience of their valour,a man loſeth, or is in danger to loſe the enterpriſe, as at that time it came to paſſe: for the Swiſſers would haue compounded with the King of France,whom they ſo much hated; Pope *Leo*,and the Viceroy of Naples,altered their opinions,and all the

The Swiſſers were deceiued by the French in paſſing the Alpes.

Guicci. lib. 12.

the eſtate of Milan was turned vpſide downe. For theſe reaſons, the Romanes neuer held nor guarded the paſſages againſt *Hanniball*, but rather would that their armies ſhould fight in an open place, where they might ouercome him, then to ſend them to the mountaines to be conſumed with cold & other diſcommodities of thoſe places. If a man could conduct to thoſe paſſages and hard places, all the forces, and there maintaine them; in ſuch caſe this courſe were to be held: for hee that is vpon the way and is to paſſe, ſhall be euer in more diſorder, then hee who is vpon his guard in thoſe difficult places. E F

CHAP. 62.

How much it auaileth a Captaine to know, what ſtate his enemie ſtandeth in.

IT is great wiſedome in a Generall to endeuour by all induſtrie and diligence to know what ſtate his enemie is in, what his determinations are, and to haue knowledge of his enterpriſes and courſes which hee purpoſeth to hold, principally when there hath been ſome notable skirmiſh or battaile betweene them, and by reaſon of the nights comming vpon them, the iſſue was not ſeene. This diligence may ſtand him in great ſtead, and yeeld him meanes to encreaſe his honour and reputation greatly: and by how much the enemies armie ſhall be farre remote from him, by ſo much ſhall hee be accounted the more wiſe, when, notwithſtanding the farre diſtance, he ſhall be aduertiſed of what is done there, and of the enemies purpoſes: for when the Armies are neere together, a man may the more eaſily haue intelligence. A man may haue this intelligence two waies, to wit, by his owne induſtrie, or by ſome accident which may happen: by induſtrie, when the Generall hath good and truſtie ſpies, and hath ſecret intelligence in the enemies Armie, and aſſaieth by all meanes to haue both tongue and eares euen in the Generals G H

A man may in two manners haue knowledge of the enemies purpoſes.

owne

A owne Tent and Pauilion, and by ſome aduenture or accident, a man may haue ſome knowledge of the enemies purpoſes; as when a man findeth one whom he ſought not, and knowing what he knew not before, letteth occaſion not ſlip which is offered vnto him, as a man may ſee by examples. This diligence is worthy of a good Captaine, yea and is moſt neceſſarie for him, and hee which hath neglected it, hath found himſelfe in ill plight, and hee which hath practiſed it, hath had good ſucceſſe in his affaires: for it hath ſometimes chanced, that a great skirmiſh or a battaile hath laſted till night, and in this confuſion the light of the minde and vnderſtanding hath
B been ſo darkened and loſt, that a man not onely thinketh not of the affaires of the enemie, but hee alſo knoweth not in what eſtate his owne are; and he which hath wonne, thinketh that he hath loſt, and he which hath loſt, accounteth himſelfe victorious, and he that hath not done his endeuour to know how things are paſt, ſpeedely to ſee his owne loſſe, and that of his enemies with his purpoſes and thoughts, hath committed a great fault, for that either ſeeing himſelfe to haue wonne, he ſtandeth as wholy ouerthrowne, or perſwading himſelfe to haue loſt, and ſo ſuffer a faire victorie to eſcape out of his hands. And becauſe this hath neede of conſideration, I will
C ſtrengthen it with three examples, two ancient, and one moderne, ſo briefly as poſſibly I may, ſhewing how dammageable it hath bin to thoſe which haue not cared to know in what eſtate their owne armie hath bin after a battaile: and haue made no account to know how it went with their enemies. *Brutus* and *Caſsius* fought againſt *Octauius*, and *Marcus Antonius*; and through the comming on of the night, it was vnknowne who had the victorie: and for as much as *Brutus* on his ſide ouercame, and *Caſsius* on his ſide loſt; *Caſsius* (without taking any paine to know how it went with his companion) thinking that hee likewiſe had bin put to flight, without hope
D of ſafetie made one of his ſeruants to cut his throte, and ſo all his affaires went to ruine.

In the yeere 1515. at the battaile of Marignan, or as others ſay, of S. Cicele, in the which *Francis* the firſt fought with the Swiſſers, the battaile hauing laſted vntill foure houres within night, each partie retired from the battaile, without ſound of Drumme or Trumpet, and without the commandement of the Captaines, the one or the other being no longer able to hold their weapons in their hands, they were ſo wearie and tired. And becauſe the Swiſſers in the firſt charge made the French to retraite, and tooke certaine peeces of

Artillerie, and were incamped in the Campe, without offending E
the one the other, as it were with a ſtill and ſilent truce, attending
the new day, a ſquadron of the Swiſſers which remained whole, not
knowing the loſſe receiued by the French, and thinking that they
had ouercome, without vſing any diligence to know how things
paſſed, was the cauſe that about the breake of day, the Swiſſers to
their diſaduantage began the battaile; and not onely erred therein
themſelues, but made others to faile alſo, which put themſelues in
danger: for hauing been happie in the firſt charge, it was held for
certaine that they had ouercome, and the Currors and Poſts car-
ried the newes ouer all Italie, that the Swiſſers had the victorie: and F
vpon this newes, the Popes and the Spaniſh armie, which had alrea-
die paſſed the Po, were likely to haue bin ſurpriſed by the victorious
French. But King *Francis* hauing made a view of his armie, and
conſidering in what eſtate it was, hee employed not the reſt of the
night vnprofitably, but vſed al diligence to know how al his affaires
went: and hauing foreſeene that in the morning the fight would
begin againe, he ordered all things accordingly, called his ſuccours,
which were neere, diſpoſed of his Artillerie in fitteſt places, and
prouided ſo for all things, that when the battaile began againe, hee
obtained the victorie. The errour afterwards, in not caring to know G
the ſtate of the enemie, except it be by chance, or ſome vnexpected
accident, happened to the Romanes when they had waires with
the Equiens, in the which *Sempronius* being Conſul, and hauing his
Armie oppoſit face to face againſt the Armie of the enemie, the
battaile began betweene them, which continued vntill night, with
variable fortune of either ſide. The night being come, and both
Campes being in diſorder, neither of the Armies returned into
their owne Campe, but each partie retired into the next moun-
taines, where they thought to be moſt aſſured; and the Romane
Armie diuided it ſelfe into two parts, whereof the one went with H
the Conſul, and the other with *Tempanius* a Centurion: the mor-
ning being come, the Conſul (without knowing any thing of the
affaires of the enemie) went to Rome, thinking that he had loſt the
battaile; and the Equiens did the like, hauing both the one and the
other left their Campes, to him that would, and thought himſelfe
victorious. It happened that *Tempanius*, in retiring with the reſt of
the Armie, vnderſtood (by chance) by certaine ſouldiers of the E-
quiens which were wounded, how their Captaines abandoning
their Campe were departed by flight: wherefore he returning ſa-

The prudence of Francis the firſt King of France in the battell againſt the Swiſſers at Marignan.

ued

A ued the Romane Campe, ſacked the enemies Campe, and came victorious to Rome. Wherefore a man may ſee, that it is very profitable for a Generall, to be the firſt to know the diſorder of the enemie, whether he be farre or neere, and to procure to know the ſtate of his owne affaires, and to prouide for them, for feare that comming to the knowledge of his enemies, they may make benefit of his diſorder and confuſion: for the victorie of King *Francis* at Marignan had no other foundation, but that hee knew the ſtate of his owne affaires, the will and deſſeignes of his enemies, and gaue order for a new battaile.

B

CHAP. 63.

Spies are neceſſarie for Princes or Generals of Armies, and in what ſort a man ought to carrie himſelfe with them.

C ALthough that the vſe of a Spie be moſt profitable, it is neuertheleſſe moſt neceſſary for euery Prince, and for euery Generall, or Lieutenant of an Armie, and principally for new Princes, which liue in ſome doubt and feare of their ſtates, being vncertaine and vnaſſured of the loue of their Citizens and ſubiects: yea and ſome haue iudged it ſo neceſſarie for a Prince to haue Spies, that there haue been Princes, who being diſguiſed, haue by night gone vp and downe in their Cities, to vnderſtand what was ſpoken and reported of them, & haue ſerued themſelues for Spies, as we reade of *Nero*, and of others: which is a thing
D very dangerous, becauſe it is a danger & hazard of a mans life, without any occaſion, as I will tell you hereafter. This exerciſe of Spies hath not been vſed, but by moſt vile and baſe perſons of a moſt baſe blood and condition, which being vnable, or not knowing how otherwiſe to get their liuing, applie thẽſelues hereto, which yeeldeth them great profit. The Prince ought to be well aduiſed, concerning ſuch men, becauſe that being naturally wicked, when they find in him any alteration, and ſee him inclined to ſuſpition, and deſirous to ſee bloud, entertaining alwayes the euill, like euill Phyſitions, and

oftentimes, alſo augmenting the ſame, they make him fearefull and melancholike, and being moſt cunning in their reports, being ouercome by falſe perſwaſions, they make him become cruel. Wherfore it is neceſſarie, that the Prince bee diſcreet, & well aduiſed, not ſtanding vpon the report of one Spie onely, but he ought to enfourme himſelfe of the trueth by ſome other: and he ought not to be negligent herein, for feare to commit ſome faults, being perſwaded by the efficacie of the ſpeeches of one onely ſpie, who to maintaine his credit and profit, regardeth not another mans hurt, neither his Princes diſhonour. Wherefore it is good and profitable, that the Prince haue ſundrie, and that the one know not the other, to the end, that the trueth of the reports agreeing many wayes, he may redreſſe diſorders; and if they agree not, hee may know the deceit of the ſpie, which would haue had the Prince to haue made ſome faults, and one ſpie alone may bee deceiued, or deale malicioufly: theſe men euer beeing of ill meaning, which haue a deſire, not ſo much to ſhew themſelues zealous of the Princes profite, as to ſee ſome euil. And as for making account of ſuch men, they ought not to be eſteemed ſo much, as that the Prince ſhould raiſe them to honours and publike dignities; for it ſhal ſuffice to giue them profit and gaine, without giuing them honours and magiſtracies in cities: if perchance ſome Gentleman of a noble houſe (which happeneth not oft) to procure his Princes fauour, ſet himſelfe ſecretly to worke in this moſt profitable occupation: for in this caſe, publike dignitie being agreeing with the noblenes of his houſe, it ſeemeth lawfull to me, that the Prince depriue him of the honour of a Magiſtrate, to be his ſecret ſpie, becauſe that in this manner hee ſhould come to make himſelfe manifeſt. But ſpeaking of other ſpies, they ought not to be made great or raiſed to honour, to diſhonour the dignitie of the Magiſtrate by their preſence, being vnlawfull that Gentlemen, which haue alwayes liued honourably, ſhould haue ſuch a kind or manner of men for companions, but they may be rewarded, to the end that through the hope of profit, they may be the more vigilant and prompt to do their endeuour. Moreouer, that ſpies are very neceſſarie, for Generals and chiefe Commanders of Armies, they which mannage and gouerne them, know it well: for without them, hardly will it be knowne, as it is ſaid in the laſt Chapter, the behauiour and practiſes of the enemie: and to ſay the trueth, it is impoſſible to know it. Wherefore wiſe Warriours haue vſed all meanes, to haue both tongue and eares, euen in the very Tent and Pauillion

What harme eſpie may do by their report to Princes.

A Prince ought to haue many ſpies the one not knowing the other.

Spies ought not by the Prince to be aduanced to honours and publike charges.

A Pauillion of their enemie : as alſo a wiſe Prince enforceth himſelfe to haue friends and intelligence, euen in the chambers of Emperous & Kings, by whoſe meanes they may be aduertiſed & aduiſed of all that paſſeth. For this cauſe the old Marques of Peſcara, wiſely iudged it to be a matter of great importãce, to haue ſpies in the enemies Armie, and not to faile to entertaine them, with great kindnes, money and rewards : he did vſe to ſay, that things could not proue well to a Generall, if he tooke not paine and care by all endeuour and expence to haue in the enemies Armie many ſpies, to the end, that according to the behauiour and practiſes of the enemie, he
B might be reſolued to take all occaſions offered, which might procure victorie. It is true that they ought to take good heed in whom they truſt: for there are many which are double ſpies, which to get from the one and the other, make their affayres ill to proſper which repoſe truſt in them ; and one double ſpie may doe more hurt and harme than ten faithfull and loyall doe good and profit to thoſe which employ them. Wherefore it is needfull that a Generall be well aduiſed, and know him well in whom he repoſe truſt, if he will not be deceiued. For this cauſe through aduenture, accompanied with his valour, the great Captaine *Gonſaluo Fernandes* obtained ſo
C many victories in the Kingdome of Naples, for he ſpared nothing to entertaine Spies. Wherefore being in Spaine after the warres, an account was demaunded of him of the adminiſtration and diſtribution of the money employed in thoſe warres, he ſhewed an account, wherein were ſet downe two parties, the one of them contained the ſumme of money employed vpon Spies, and the other in almes vpon the religious : and ſhewed that hee had employed more vpon Spies than vpon the poore, for that the hyre of Spies amounted to the ſumme of 600494. Crownes, and the Almes giuen to thoſe which prayed to God to giue him the victorie, amounD ted to the ſumme of 200736. Crownes.

The opinion of the Marques of Peſcara.

The ſubtiltie of Gonſaluo Fernandez *the great Captaine.*

E

CHAP. 64.

Sundrie Captaines haue obtained very great victories in the warres, with very little loſſe of their owne troupes and Souldiers.

F

THe hardie and bolde exployte of the Swiſſers againſt the French at Nouarra, haue made me to conſider, that that is not impoſſible which ſundrie Hiſtorians haue written of ſome battailes, betweene ſome very great armies, in which there hath followed ſo great occiſion of the vanquiſhed, with ſo little loſſe of the victorious, that they which reade it, thinke that the authors and hiſtorians are lyers and farre wide from the trueth: and although at Nouarra, there G were ſlaine about 1500. Swiſſers by meanes of the Artillerie, a man may thinke that there where was no fire, it was in them to winne, in a manner without any loſſe of the victorious, or of ſo ſmall a number, as no account was made thereof. Wherefore I haue thought it fit to repeate and ſhew here ſome battailes and exployts of armes much more admirable: as for obtaining of victories, although this of the Swiſſers were memorable, for the ſmall number of thoſe which aſſaulted a great armie; and the aſſault was with diſaduauntage, for it was giuen without Artillerie or Horſemen, and few went againſt many. At the Riuer Inere in Sicilie, (as *Diodorus* writeth) was giuen a battaile betweene *Agathocles* and *Amilcar* a Carthaginian; in the which of the Carthaginians, there dyed about 500. men, and of *Agathocles* partie 7000. *Appianus Alexandrinus*, ſpeaking of the warres of Carthage, ſaith, That in the battell betweene *Siphax* and *Maſsiniſſa* the Armie of *Siphax* was defeated, and there died 20000. perſons, and of the Romanes there were ſlaine but 75. and about 300. of *Maſsiniſſaes* people. The ſame *Appian*, in the ciuill warres, ſaith, that *Marcus Craſſus* going againſt *Spartacus*, *Craſſus* made ſuch a ſlaughter of the Armie of *Spartacus*, that

Diodor. lib. 20. H

Appianus Alexandrinus lib. 1.

Lib. 2.

A that hee ſlue twelue thouſand men, and in the Romane Armie were ſlaine but three, and ſeuen wounded. The ſame *Appian* in his ſecond booke of the ciuill warres writeth, that *Curio* hauing begunne a very hot skirmiſh againſt *Varro*, a Captaine for King *Iuba*; the ſouldiers of *Curio* ſlew ſixe hundred of their enemies, and hurt as many, and of the Romanes was ſlaine but one. *Plutarch* in the life of *Ageſilaus*, writeth, that *Archidamus* ſonne of *Ageſilaus* aided and aſſiſted by the Sicilians, obtained a victorie againſt the Archadians, which was called the Victorie without teares, for that there dyed neuer a one of his, but of the enemies a great number.

B The ſame *Plutarch* (in the life of *Lucullus*) writeth, that *Lucullus* go- Plutarch.
ing againſt *Tigranes*, and hauing ioyned in battaile, the Barbarians fled, whereof were ſlaine 100000. men, and a few men at armes eſcaped; and of the Romane armie were ſlaine but fiue, and 100. wounded. The ſame *Plutarch*, in the life of *Sylla*, recounting the battaile which hee had againſt *Marius*, ſaith, that *Sylla* might well boaſt that he had cut in peeces 1000. Marians, and taken 8000. priſoners, and loſt of his people but 23. men. *Paulus Emilius* a Romane Conſul, as the ſame *Plutarch* writeth in the life of him, fighting againſt *Perſeus* King of the Macedonians, ſlew in one battaile 25000. Mace-

C donians, and loſt of his owne people but about 100. *Titus Liuius* Titus Liuius
teſtifieth the ſame, and that for this cauſe his triumph was celebra- *in the 4. booke*
ted, as of a victorie without teares. *Alexander* the great, hauing paſ- *of his firſt Decade.*
ſed the riuer Gramique, gaue battaile to the Barbarians, of which were ſlaine 2000. footmē, and 2000. horſemen, and of the Macedonians dyed but 34. among the which were nine ſouldiers, as *Ariſtobulus* reporteth, (who wrote this hiſtorie) to which *Alexander* erected ſtatues, by the hand of *Liſippus*, as *Plutarch* declareth in the life of *Alexander*. The ſame *Alexander* fighting againſt *Darius*, (as *Diodorus* writeth) vnder the towne of Iſſo, obtained a moſt great victo-

D rie, for in that battaile died of *Darius* his people about 100000. ſoul- Cornel. Tacit.
ders, and aboue 10000. men at armes: and of the Macedonians lay dead in the place aboue 300. and about 150. men at armes. *Caius Cæſar*, in the battaile againſt Iuba, tooke three armies, and ſlew 50000. enemies, hauing hardly loſt of his people aboue fiftie perſons. *Cornelius Tacitus* deſcribing the battaile betweene the Engliſh and the Romanes, ſaith, that in this battaile the Romanes ſlew 24000. Engliſh, and there died not of them aboue 400. and as many wounded, notwithſtanding that the Romane armie was much leſſe then the Engliſh. *Iohn Villani* recounteth a defeate of the French by the Ioh. Villani lib. 8. cap. 2.

Flemmings, neere Courtray in Flaunders in the yeere 1132. with a very ſmall loſſe of the Flemmings: and the ſame man maketh mention of an ouerthrow of the Florentines, with ſmall loſſe to the victors. *Fazelli* (who wrote the hiſtorie of Sicilia) reciteth, that the Normans fighting in Sicilie againſt the Saraſins, the ſaid Normans in one battaile ſlew ten thouſand Saraſins, and of them died ſo few that they regarded it not, and called this victorie without blood. The ſame author ſaith, that the Siracuſians fighting againſt the Carthaginians, at the riuer Crimiſe, vnder the conduct of *Timoleon*, twelue thouſand Siracuſians, at the paſſage ouer a riuer, charged three ſcore thouſand Carthaginians, which came into Sicilie vnder the charge of *Hannibal* of Bomilcar; and without the death of any of *Timoleons* people, the Carthaginian armie was put to flight, and in this battaile ten thouſand were diſpatched, almoſt all gentlemen, and fifteene thouſand were taken, the reſt fled at their pleaſure: which happened then when *Timoleon* paſſed from Corinth into Sicilie, to deliuer it from oppreſſion of ſundrie Tyrants.

Emilius Probus.

Emilius Probus in the life of *Milciades* ſaith, that *Datis* and *Artaphernes* (Captaines of *Darius*) hauing aſſailed the Athenians, abandoned of all the Greekes, except thoſe of Platea, which ſent them one thouſand ſouldiers, by meanes of which they made the number of ten thouſand fighting men; *Milciades* hauing taken the aduantage of the place, and hauing ranged himſelfe, where the enemies horſe could not charge him, by reaſon of the trees, neither could the multitude of the enemies incloſe him, hauing the mountaines at his back, gaue the battaile, and ten thouſand men ran vpon one hundred thouſand Barbarians, and the valiant courage of *Milciades* and the Athenians was ſo great, that each of them ſlew tenne Perſians: for he ſaith, that they ſlew tenne times as many of the enemies as they were of themſelues: and from that time vntil this, was neuer ſeene a more notable victorie. And although it be to be beleeued that there dyed ſome Athenians, yet the number was ſo ſmall, that there was no account made thereof. A man may peraduenture ſay, that in thoſe battailes were vſed no fierie weapons, and for that cauſe they were ſo notable. But in battailes and encounters, where Artillerie and Harquebuzzes haue beene vſed, the like hath followed, as at the battaile of Bicoque betweene the French and the Spaniſh, where were ſlaine three thouſand Swiſſers, and 22. Captaines about a ditch, and of the Spaniſh armie ſo few, as no reckoning was made thereof, but of one man onely, which was *Iohn de Cardine*

A *Cardine* Earle of Coliſan, who was ſlaine with a ſhot in the head, which was in the yeere 1522. But before that, Pope *Eugenius* being then liuing, who was created in the yeere 1431. Boulogna being reuolted, and rebelling againſt the Church, through the occaſion of *Canedoli*, the armies of the Pope, the Venetians, and the Florentines, being confederates, enforced themſelues to get and recouer it againe. *Nicholas de Tolentin* was Captaine of the League, and *Picinino* was chiefe of the enemies; they came to giue battaile in the countrie of Imote: *Tolentin* was put to flight, and there taken priſoner, with fiue principall Colonels, and 3500. men at armes, and a
B thouſand ſouldiers beſides the dead: and in the armie of *Picinino* died but foure, and thirtie were wounded; yet neuertheleſſe Artillerie and ſmall ſhot were then vſed, although not with ſuch perfection as now we ſee. The hardines of the Swiſſers at Nouarra was admirable, but the battailes and victories repeated were no leſſe memorable, in which may be ſeene, that the wiſedome and diſcretion of the Captains hath had great part: yet neuertheleſſe through the valour of the ſouldiers, accompanied with the good counſell and direction of the Captaines, happy victories are to be hoped for.

Sabellicus.

C

Chap. 65.

Speeches vſed without conſideration, haue been the occaſion of much euill, as well to them which vſed them, as to others.

D IN conſideration, in all things is euill, but worſe in ſpeaking: and to babble and prate, is a viee blameworthie in all men, but moſt pernicious and hurtfull to thoſe which haue publike charge: and as to ſpeake in time and place, is a part of wiſedome; euen ſo to ſpeake to no purpoſe, is a principal part of follie: I haue euer eſteemed more of them, which firſt conſider with reaſon, and ſpeake afterward: and therefore the Shepheard of Archadia ſaid wiſely:

To ſpeake to no purpoſe is hurtfull.

E pria chio parli le parole maſtico.

Which is to ſay:

And before I ſpeake, I chew my words.

This

This vice,beſides the blame which it deſerueth, bringeth with it much danger,and oftentimes one only word hath cauſed the death of him which ſpake it, or hath brought into danger and trouble ſome other perſon,who by a fit & conuenient ſilence had auoyded it. I ſpeake not now of words proceeding frõ a paſſionate man and in choler,but of thoſe which through want of wit and iudgement, are vttered of perſons, of whom it had been good to haue beene ſilent, and principally when they manage affaires of importance. When as *Dionyſius* was Lord in Siracuſa,there were certaine young men which went to his Barbers ſhop to waſh,or to diſcourſe,as the manner is,in ſuch ſhops, whither idle perſons reſort, to talke and to heare newes; and theſe young men beginning to talke freely of the gouernment of the Tyrant,and to ſay,that it was impoſſible to bee able to change their Lord,becauſe that hee euer had a good guard, and that his gouernment might be rightly called Diamantin, being impoſſible to bee broken: whereto his Barber (without conſideration) ſaid; Wherefore is it impoſſible to kill him, ſeeing that I euery day haue this Raſour at his throte? Theſe words were noted, and by his eſpials reported to *Dionyſius*, who made this Barber to be apprehended and quartered. This inconſidered word, vttered without reaſon, was cauſe of his death, and did aduiſe *Dionyſius* to truſt himſelfe no more in the hands of a Barber: for he made his daughters to burne the haire of his head and beard with coales,becauſe he would haue no more iron come about his head. The ſame *Dionyſius* put a gentleman his very familiar to death, for a word by him fooliſhly ſpoken,who being in companie with certaine gentlemen his friends, ſaid: Wot you what, I dreamed to night that I had cut *Dionyſius* his throte? Theſe words were reported to the Tyrant, who,notwithſtanding the great familiaritie betweene them, made him to dye,ſaying: If he had not firſt thought it in the day time,he had neuer dreamed thereof at night. But a man may ſay that theſe were common perſons, which are not worthie to bee alleaged for example: therefore I will ſhew that there haue beene alſo men of great authoritie,which haue fallen into this inconſideration.

Demaratus, which ſhould haue ſucceeded in the kingdome of the Lacedemonians, was depriued of that kingdome by *Ariſton* his father, for one onely word vttered without conſideration in the Senate,which was,that newes being brought vnto him that he had a ſonne borne, he counted vpon his fingers how long his wife had been with him,and ſeeing that there were no more but ſeuen moneths,

A neths, and that vſually women are deliuered at nine, hee ſaid: It is not poſſible that hee ſhould be my ſonne. This word turned to the great dammage of *Demaratus*: for after the death of *Ariſton* his father, the Lacedemonians refuſed to giue him the kingdome, because the Ephores bare record, that *Ariſton* had ſaid, that it was not poſſible that *Demaratus* borne at ſeuen moneths end, ſhould be his ſonne, which he confirmed with an oth. Herodot. lib. 6

When Pope *Iulius* the ſecond attempted to deliuer Italie from the *Oltramontani*, hee ſent an Italian Ambaſſadour to the King of England, to perſwade him to take armes in his behalfe againſt the
B King of France; and the Ambaſſadour hauing deliuered all that he had in charge to ſay, anſwere was giuen him in the behalfe of the King, that he was moſt readie and willing to defend the Pope, but that an Armie was not ſo ſoone to be made readie, for that the Engliſh, by reaſon of their long peace, had in a manner loſt the vſe of armes; and becauſe they were to goe againſt a King, who was no leſſe mightie and puiſſant, then warlike, as was the King of France, there ought to be a time to make neceſſarie prouiſion for a warre of ſo great importance. The Ambaſſadour preſently, to no purpoſe or reaſon, added theſe words: *Anchio hodetto piu volte queſto medeſimo a*
C *ſua ſanctita*: which is to ſay: And I haue oftentimes ſaid the ſame to his holines. Theſe words, which ſhewed the will of the Ambaſſadour to be different from that of his Prince, gaue great doubt and ſuſpition to the Kings Counſell, and they began to doubt that the Ambaſſadour was rather inclined to fauour the King of France then the Pope his Maſter; and ſetting ſecret Spies about him, to take notice of his behauiour, it was perceiued that by night hee ſpake ſecretly with the French Ambaſſadour: by which meanes he was vndone, and if he had fallen into the hands of the Pope, he had peraduenture put him to death. And ſo by his anſwere, which was
D not to the purpoſe of his charge, he wronged himſelfe, and was the occaſion that the King of England was conſtrained to begin the warre ſooner then hee would, who in deferring the ſuccours, had peraduenture accorded the controuerſie betweene the Pope and the French King. *The Ambaſſadour of Pope Iulius was taken for a Spie by the King of England.*

Renzo de Ceri, a moſt honourable Captaine in his time, being in the pay and ſeruice of *Laurence de Medicis* in the warre which *Francis Maria* Duke of Vrbin made againſt him, to reconquer & recouer his eſtate, was aduertiſed that certaine Spaniſh Captaines had plotted

plotted a treaſon to deliuer *Francis Maria*, into the hands of the Duke of Florence. Wherefore the ſaid *Renzo*, talking with a Drumme, demaunded of him in ieſt and laughing, but with great inconſideration, When will theſe Spaniards deliuer your Duke priſoner? The Drumme made no anſwere: but being returned to the Campe, hee reported to *Francis Maria*, the words which *Renzo* had vſed vnto him, without any neceſſitie or reaſon. Wherefore the Duke of Vrbin hauing engrauen them in his heart, ſtood vpon his guard, and marked the behauiour of the Spaniſh Captaines. In the end, through certaine letters and writings found among their baggage, the truth appeared, and the conſpirators againſt Duke *Francis* were knowne; who were committed to priſon, and conuict of treaſon, and ſo were made to paſſe the pikes. Thus *Renzo* was the cauſe why the treaſon tooke not effect, the Captaines were diſpatched, and *Laurence* his Maſter made not ſo ſoone an end of the warres, as otherwiſe peraduenture hee might haue done. And *Guicciardin* ſaith of *Renzo*, that hee was but ſhallow witted, to vſe ſuch ſpeeches to a Drumme, without any conſideration.

Certaine Spaniſh Captaines conuict of treaſon, were made to paſſe the pikes.

Let euery man then take heede of inconſideration of ſpeech: for a man may fill whole bookes with the euils which haue riſen and proceeded from ſuch faults: and there where ſhall be ſuch little diſcretion, many notable errors will be committed.

CHAP.

A

CHAP. 66.

VVho ſo doth any euill, or offendeth another in ſecret, thinking that it ſhall not be reuealed, is commonly deceiued, and beareth the payne thereof.

B

ALthough that the imprudence and inconſideration of men, be ſeene in many things, yet in this it ſeemeth to mee very notable, when ſome doe, or would doe ſome euill, thinking that it ſhould neuer be reuealed: and moreouer there are ſome, ſo ill aduiſed, that they hazard to offend ſome worthie Perſonage, grounded vpon the ſame conceit, and hope of concealement, and that the author of the euill action ſhall neC uer be knowne. I know, that the nature and condition of malefactors is ſuch, that they thinke they ſhall neuer be diſcouered: for no man would aduenture to robbe, plot treaſons, conſpiracies, and ſuch like miſchiefes, if they thought they ſhould be knowne. And I much maruell, that after ſo many, and ſo many experiences ſeene euery day thereof, men neuertheleſſe grounded vpon this conceit, aduenture to do euill. Theſe men, either beleeue not, or they know not, what is ſaid by the authoritie of Ieſus Chriſt, to wit, that there is nothing ſo hidden, but it ſhall bee reuealed, neither any thing ſo ſecret, but it ſhal be knowne: and that oftentimes, the iniquitie falD leth vpon his head who hath committed it. And hee that diggeth a pitte for another man, often breaketh his owne necke therein. Wherefore *Lewes Arioſto* calleth this kind of men miſerable, ſaying in his ſixt Song:

Miſer chi mal oprando ſi confida
Ch'ogn' hor ſtar debba in maleficio occulto
Che quand' ogn' altro taccia intorno grida
L'aria la terra e'l luggo in ch'è ſepolto

E dio ſa ſpeſſo ch'il peccato grida
il peccator poi ch'alcun di gli ha indulto
Che ſe medeſimo ſenza altrui rechieſta
inauedutamente manifeſta.

Vnhappie is he, doing ill who relieth
On ſecrecie, thinking none will him eſpie,
All other being ſilent, about him ſtill crieth
The aire, earth, and place, whereas he doth lie,
And God ſo worketh, that the ſinne it ſelfe crieth
And the ſinner at ſometime before he doth die,
Vnawares of himſelfe, without any requeſt,
His owne ſinne reuealeth and maketh manifeſt.

Theſe verſes are very ſententious, and worthy to be conſidered by all thoſe, which ſwelling with griefe, are conſtrained to bring forth their iniquitie: for although that for a time, the malefactour be not diſcouered, yet neuertheleſſe by certaine meanes vnknowne, vnthought of, nor premeditated, onely knowne vnto God, the offences come to be manifeſt, yea they come to be diſcouered, when a man thinketh leaſt thereof: and in ſome, either earely or late, God layeth open the ſinne, and the puniſhment followeth. *Plutarch* in his worke, or the faire Treatiſe of the ſlow vengeance of God, ſaith that in the Cipriotte warres, one *Ariſtocrates* chiefe of the Meſſenians, through the deſire to rule, betrayed his Meſſenians, by which occaſion, his practiſe taking effect, all the Meſſenians were cut in pieces; but twentie yeeres after his treaſon was reuealed, and *Ariſtocrates* was rigorouſly puniſhed. It is ſaid in the verſes before, that the ſinne induceth the ſinner ſometime to manifeſt it himſelfe: which appeareth to be true in this example, which I would haue held for a fable, if it had beene reported by any other author then *Plutarch*, who in the ſame treatiſe here aboue alleaged, reporteth ſuch a caſe, ſaying; that a certaine man named *Beſſus*, had ſlaine his father, and this murther and parricide lay long hidden: but comming vpon a time into an Inne to ſupper, he ſaw a Swallowes neſt, wherein were young ones which cried: and hee hauing throwne downe the neſt with a long pole which he had in his hand, with his foote killed all the young birds in a great braucrie: and being demaunded by thoſe which were there preſent, wherefore he had ſo cruelly killed them, he anſwered: Did you not vnderſtand that they did

A did nothing elſe but ſpeake againſt me, ſaying that I had killed my father. They which heard theſe words, reported them to the King, recounting the fact and the anſwere of *Beſſus:* and the King cauſing him to bee apprehended, made him to bee tortured: by which meanes hee confeſſed the fact, and how it paſſed, and was puniſhed accordingly.

We reade in the hiſtorie of the Greekes, and alſo in thoſe of Sicilie, in the life of *William* the good, that *Andronicus* a Greeke fell into this inconuenience, who being left by *Emanuell* Emperour of Conſtantinople, Tutour of *Aleſſus* his ſonne: *Andronicus* aſpi-
B ring to the Empire by ſundrie deuices, draue away the Latines which fauoured the childe; and afterward as *Aleſſus* went in a little barke, to recreate himſelfe vpon the Sea, *Andronicus* threw him into the water and drowned him, making the world to beleeue, that by miſchaunce he fell into the Sea, ſo as he was not able to ſaue him. But in the end the treaſon being diſcouered by the courſe which he held, putting many to death, and vniuſtly and without reaſon baniſhing others, the people of Conſtantinople pulled him in peeces. We reade in the ſame hiſtories of Sicilia, that
Robert King of Naples, and *Federique* King of Sicilie, making
C warre the one againſt the other, *Robert* diſembarked and ſet foote on land, betweene the Caſtle of Iccare, and the Caſtle of the Sea of the Gulfe, and a Captaine, named *Remond* the white, hauing the Caſtle of the Gulfe in guard, in the behalfe of King *Federique*, King *Robert* after many proffers, in the end won *Remond* with money, and *Remond* deliuered the Caſtle to King *Robert*. *Remond* thought that this his treaſon was hidden, and could not by any meanes ſoeuer be knowne, for that he had done it very ſecretly, and ſo grounded in this thought and imagination, he impudently ſetting a good countenance vpon it, went to King *Federique*, who ha-
D uing ſome intelligence of the treaſon, cauſed his head to be ſtricken off, with three others his companions and complices. So this *Remond* found himſelfe deceiued, thinking that his fault ſhould not haue been made manifeſt and knowne to the King: and in like ſort ſhall they all be deceiued in their imaginations, which complotting and deuiſing any euill, principallie againſt their Princes, if they ſhall attempt to execute the ſame, and thinke that they ſhall not be diſcouered; for that Princes haue long hands, wide eares, and *Lynx* his eyes, to pearce and ſee through Mountaines; and although that ſome one peraduenture haue attained to the height of his en-

Federicque *King of Sicilie, cauſed* Remond le Blanc *to be beheaded for treaſon.*

terpriſe, and hath eſcaped, yet that ought not to be held for an ex- E
ample; for it hath not been euery mans caſe: And let a man be all one as much as he will, the offender by ſome accident not prepenſed and meanes extraordinarie, in the end is diſcouered. A man might adde hereunto the doing of *Tibert Brandolin* a valiant Captaine in his time; this man being in the paye of *Francis Sforce* the elder Duke, and ſeeing him very ſicke, and thinking for certaine that he would dye of that diſeaſe, conſpired with the Paiſants of the Piacentin, which rebelled againſt the Duke, and promiſed to ſuccour them, and giue ayde and fauour againſt him with the men of warre of Picinino. Afterwards perceiuing that the Duke re- F
couered, and fearing that his diſloyaltie would be knowne, he reſolued to flie, and to ſerue *Iohn* of Aniou, and to colour his flight, hee asked the Duke leaue to goe to the marriage of his daughter, with promiſe ſhortly to returne. The Duke nothing ſuſpecting him, graciouſly gaue him leaue, but his treaſon being diſcouered vnto the Duke, by a meane which *Brandolin* thought not of, he was apprehended before he could get forth of Milan, and committed to priſon: where being ſtung, by his owne conſcience and remorſe of his faults, and fearing to dye publikelie by the hands of an executioner, hee ſlue himſelfe. Let no man then G
preſume to doe euill, as the Spaniſh Captaines here before mentioned would haue done againſt the Duke of Vrbin, thinking that their doings ſhall not come to light: for moſt commonly, he which ſhall be of this opinion, ſhall finde himſelfe deceiued, and beare the puniſhment for his fault.

CHAP.

A

CHAP. 67.

It ill beſeemeth a Prince or great Captaine, to ſay in truth I had not thought it, and enterpriſes to be put in execution, ought not to be grounded vpon vaine and deceiueable
B *hopes.*

I Know well, that it is a very vnworthie word in the mouth of any man which vndertaketh any enterpriſe, whereof he attaineth not to a happie iſſue, to ſay, I had not thought, or I would not haue beleeued it; and though that it may be true, he who ſaith ſo, is not alwaies worthie of reprehenſion, for that there may happen ſome accident, either ſo light, or ſo
C great & ſo weightie, that for the lightnes, he who hath the care and charge of great matters, eſteemeth it not; or for the waight thereof, it be ſo far frō reaſonable, that reaſon being ruled in his actions, could not foreſee that which was without rule. Wherefore a Prince deſerueth not to be blamed, who (for example) hath put ſome one in a fortreſſe, to whom he hath done much good, and in the end is by him betrayed. And if hee ſhould then ſay, I ſhould neuer haue thought, that ſuch a man would haue betrayed me, he deſerued not to be blamed. As it happened vnto *Lewes More* Duke of Milan, who hauing committed the caſtle of Milan to the guard of one of his greateſt friends, and to whom he moſt truſted, and who was moſt
D bound vnto him, becauſe of the great good, which he had beſtowed vpon him, which was *Bernardin Court*, he was by him betrayed, to his perpetuall diſhonour and infamie. For this cauſe, if the Duke had ſaid, truely I would neuer haue thought that *Bernardin Court* would haue betraied me, he had not deſerued blame. In like manner, he ought not to be reprooued, who hauing prouided for euery thing, is aſſailed by ſome ſo ſtrange and grieuous accident, that being wholy without reaſon, it was impoſſible by any iudgement and counſell to foreſee or preuent it; being impoſible with reaſon to

Guicciar. lib. 6

Bernardin Court, *ingratefull to* Lewes *Duke of Milan.*

foreſee any thing, which of it ſelfe is without reaſon, as was this E
moſt grieuous accident, which could not be imagined, and to be
placed in the number of prodigious monſters, by which the pou-
der and other munition prouided and prepared to be ſent to diuers
places, before the Caſtle gate of Milan tooke fire, and was burnt,
when the skye was cleere and very faire and ſtill weather, the light-
ning came downe from Heauen, and did ſo great hurt, whereof af-
terwards enſued ſo many loſſes and diſcommodities. Vpon this
occaſion, if the Captaine of the Caſtle had ſaid, I would neuer haue
thought that this ſhould haue befallen me, he had not deſerued to
haue been reproued. But ſpeaking of thoſe which vndertake to doe F
ſome enterpriſe, and haue time to be aduiſed, and to prouide for
things neceſſarie, when through their fault they attaine not to what
they deſired, or failing of their hopes, whereon their deſſeignes
were grounded, or through want of ſight and order taken in all, as
it behoued, I ſay that then, it ill beſeemeth a man to ſay, I thought
not thereof. *Federicque de Bezolo* fell into this fault, when he vnder-
tooke the enterpriſe of Parma, in the yeare 1529. whereof *Francis
Guicciardin* was gouernour generall for the Pope, after the death of
Leo the tenth, (if the author for his owne praiſe make not the mat-
ter greater) for *Federicque* went thither without prouiſion of Artil- G
lerie, ſauing two little Peeces, being ſetled vpon this imagination,
that *Guicciardin* being inexperienced in the affaires of the warres,
would not defend the Citie, and make his partie good againſt him.
But this imagination deceiued him, and he being forced to retire
from Parma, to his loſſe and diſhonour. He may ſay, (according as
Guicciardin himſelfe hath written) that nothing had deceiued him
in this enterpriſe (whereof he was the author) but that he had not
thought that a gouernour, being no man of war, & newly come to
that Citie, would haue vndertaken the defence, and put himſelfe in
danger after the death of the Pope, without hope of any profit, ſee- H
ing he might haue abandoned the charge, & ſaued himſelfe with his
honour. And laſtly he concludeth, that *Federick de Bezzolo*, let ſlip
theſe words out of his mouth: I neuer thought that this man ſo
conſtantly would haue vndertaken this defence: which words tru-
ly were not worthie of ſo renowned and noble a Captaine, as *Fe-
derick* was, in that time: for that hee ought to beleeue that valour of
courage is ſometimes found in men contrarie to all expectation,
and neceſſitie doth often make men to do thoſe things, which they
would neuer haue attempted of themſelues, by their owne choiſe,

as

A as did theſe of Parma in this defence; and a mans honour and reputation being intereſſed in the charge which he holdeth, may waken and ſtirre vp valour and courage in euery man of ſpirit. For this cauſe a wiſe Captaine ought to vndertake his enterpriſes with prouiſions requiſit and neceſſarie, and not to ground his foundation vpon vaine imaginations: for if his deſſeignes haue not ſuch iſſue as he would, he hath no reaſon to ſay, I had not thought it, I would neuer haue beleeued it.

B

CHAP. 68.

To denie ſome requeſts to him to whom a man in ſome ſort is bounden, doth not therefore yeeld a man ingratefull, although by the ayde and aſſiſtance of the demaunder he haue attained vnto ſome great dignitie.

C

THoſe which mount to ſome high degree and honorable dignitie, by the meanes and ayde of ſome other man, truly ought euer to reſt bounden vnto him, ſo farre foorth as ſuch a pleaſure doth deſerue, & ſo to beare himſelfe towards him, that hee may ſeeme to bee alwaies thankfull, in ſuch ſort that at all times and as often as he may with his honour, he ought to requite it in any thing to his power. But there are

D ſome men, who hauing holpen a man to attaine vnto ſome degree and dignitie, whereby hee is become greater then they, promiſe themſelues ſo much of him, and paint him out ſo much bounden vnto them, that they aſſure themſelues that hee cannot denie any thing that they ſhal demaund: as if they had holpen him to obtaine the ſhadow and name of his office and dignitie, retaining to themſelues the authoritie: and as if hee ſhould alwaies doe what they would, and graunt all that they requeſt, they will leade him by the noſe whither they pleaſe, & vſe him like a buffle. And ſo ſoone as he which is eſtabliſhed in this dignity, ſhal deny him any thing, by and

by they caſt in his teeth the pleaſure they did him, ſaying: Remember that you are in this place by our meanes, and that by our means you haue what you haue; and that without vs, you had neuer obtained it: and ſuch like. By which ſpeeches they in a manner ſhew, that they would haue him for their ſeruant, and not their ſuperiour. Hee then who by the meanes of another ſhall haue obtained any dignitie, and ſhall be raiſed to any honourable degree, and being wearied and tired with the importunitie of him, who hath aſſiſted him, and will not content him in all that hee demaundeth, and can not peraduenture with his honour pleaſe him, is not, neither ought he to be held ingratefull, if he grant not what is required: for as he who hath been the occaſion that another man hath this degree, if he will gouerne him, and be the man which will doe euery thing himſelfe, he beginneth to deface & blot out the pleaſure which he hath done to him, as vſurping that to himſelf, which he hath procured to another: and he which is eſtabliſhed in ſuch degree and dignitie, ought not to endure it, for not to ſeeme ſimple and a man of no ſpirit. Wherefore Pope *Clement* the ſeuenth, anſwered the Cardinall *Pompey Colomne* in the like diſcourſe very wiſely, this Cardinall *Pompey*, being employed, vſed ſuch meanes, that *Clement* mounted to the Apoſtolike ſeate, and that the Cardinall *Franciotto Orſin* obtained it not: after that *Clement* was Pope, *Pompey* obtained of him many graces and honours, but aſſuring himſelfe that nothing ſhould bee denied him that he ſhould require. Vpon a time being importunate for ſome matters, which the Pope iudged to be vniuſt, and by his holines not to be granted with his honor: whereof *Pompey* failing of his expectation, began to reproch the Pope, and to tell him, that by his meanes he was Pope. His holines anſwered him, that it was true, and prayed him to ſuffer him to bee Pope, and that he would not be it himſelfe: for in proceeding in this manner, hee tooke that from him which hee had giuen him. Wherefore they which aduance a man to any degree, ought to bee well aduiſed that they behaue themſelues in ſuch ſort, that they ſeeme not to gouerne him in that eſtate, and deface the pleaſure by an importune and diſpleaſing reproch: for beſides the diſpleaſure he receiueth in not obtaining what hee demaundeth, hee acquireth the name of an indiſcreete man: and he which is eſtabliſhed in a dignitie, ought not to doe any thing vnworthie of him, nor of his honour, to pleaſe him who made him great: for he ſhall auoide the blame of a weake man, wanting diſcretion, and ſhall acquire vnto himſelfe the name and reputation

E F G H

The anſwere of Pope Clement *the ſeuenth to the Card nall* Pompey Colomno. Guicc. lib. 15.

A reputation of a iuſt and good man, who, without reſpect of perſons, doth that which is requiſit and conuenient, for a man that is wiſe and of gouernment: and let him not thinke therefore to be reputed ingratefull: for he which procureth that a pleaſure done, ſhould be requited and recompenced by ſome vile act, deſerueth to bee put backe and reiected, as diſhoneſt and indiſcreet, without contenting him, as to a benefactor appertaineth.

B

CHAP. 69.

Good counſell, tending to the profit of the Prince or Common-wealth, ought not to be concealed, for feare that it ſhould not be put in execution.

C THere are ſome Citizens and Counſellors to Princes, which haue ſo great regard & reſpect to counſell and to ſpeake their opinion, who although they could giue good and profitable counſell, touching the matter in queſtion, yet neuertheleſſe for feare that their counſell ſhould not be followed, they hold themſelues ſtill, and doe not gainſay that which they find to be inexpedient, ſeeing the inclination of the reſt to be contrarie to that which they would counſell: and for ſhame that the counſell by them proponed ſhould not bee accepted, they ſpeake not a word, and are ſilent, which although that for the
D preſent it were not accepted, the affaires being diſpoſed to the contrarie, at length neuertheleſſe, it ſhould be knowne for good. Wherfore I admoniſh euery man, making profeſſion to vnderſtand the affaires of the world, that being in any conſultation, where matters are decided and determined, which hee findeth neither expedient nor profitable for his Prince or Countrie, that he faile not freely to ſpeake his opinion, for feare that his counſell ſhould not be executed, or for that hee ſeeth the greateſt partie and the Prince himſelfe inclined to follow the contrarie: for by ſo much more his aduice and counſell ſhall be held and reputed for wiſe, by how much the

iſſue

The iſſue and end of an enterpriſe manifeſteth the wiſedome of the counſell giuen.

iſſue of the matter ſhall be more correſpondent with the counſell which he gaue. E

Archidamus King of the Lacedemonians, ſaw that the whole Councell of Sparta was inclined to take armes againſt the Athenians, in the behalfe of the Corinthians, which were recommended vnto them, and as confederates had required their aide in the warre, which the Athenians waged againſt them, and knew well that his aduice ſhould not bee accepted: notwithſtanding this hee would not faile to ſpeake his opinion, and by many liuely reaſons to ſhew, that they ought not to ſtirre againſt the Athenians, nor to breake the truce which they had with them. *Archidamus* got no- F thing by propounding this counſell, but the aduice of *Stenelaides* an Ephore was followed, who ſeeing the hearts of the Lacedemonians diſpoſed to make warre againſt the Athenians, cauſed them to reſolue to make it ſuddenly. But the iſſue of the matter made it manifeſt, how much the counſell of *Archidamus* had been more profitable, then the reſolution of *Stenelaides*.

Mercurie Gattinara, a Piemontois, great Chauncellor of the kingdome of Spaine, knowing the heart of the Emperour *Charles* the fift to be diſpoſed to come to agreement with *Francis* the firſt of that name King of France and his priſoner, and to deliuer him; G he knew the will of the Viceroy of Naples and other Lords of the Counſell of Spaine, tending to the ſame; hee knew finally the conditions of the agreement, and the qualitie of the Articles thereof, and was well aſſured that his counſell ſhould not bee receiued nor accepted; neuertheleſſe he would not faile to ſpeake what hee thought, and rather to crie it out, then diſpute and by reaſons to debate and diſſwade this accord: the which reaſons are well deliuered, with grauitie of ſpeech, by *Guicciardin* in the oration of the ſaid *Gattinara*; whoſe aduice was not allowed nor approued, but theirs was followed which perſwaded the agreement: and *Mercurie* was H ſo conſtant in his opinion, that the accord ſhould not bee accepted nor obſerued, that he would not ſigne the Articles, but that the Emperour, all angrie, muſt ſigne them himſelfe But the iſſue made it knowne, that the counſell of *Gattinara* was much better then that of the reſt, for that the Articles were not obſerued: and after that the King was at libertie, all vaniſhed away in ſmoke. Then let no good Counſellor of a Prince leaue to ſpeake his aduice, neither let him leaue to giue good counſell, for feare that it ſhall not be regarded, or that it ſhall be deſpiſed: for in the end the goodneſſe of

ſage

A ſage deliberations and prudent counſels, is knowne in the goodnes of iſſue and good ſucceſſe.

CHAP. 70.

Promiſes voluntarily made, are to be held and performed, and
B *the euill which enſueth through default thereof.*

IT is a thing altogether infamous and diſhoneſt to faile and breake promiſe; but it is moſt diſhoneſt in a Prince or Common-wealth: for it cannot be ſaid that ſuch perſons failed through inaduertence, or want of diſcretion, as of particular men, if they were not carried away by affection, or apparance of good. *A man ought to be well aduiſed how he promiſe any thing.* A man ought to bee well aduiſed touching his promiſe, and ought not to make it, but that firſt he weigh and conſi-
C der well what is required and demaunded: for whoſoeuer ſhall doe otherwiſe, ſhall euer commit ſome fault, becauſe that promiſes made with ſmall iudgement haue this cuſtome, either (to the diſpleaſure of thoſe to whom they were made) to be refuſed and denied, or otherwiſe they are performed to the great griefe and repentance of thoſe which made them. It is true that ſome are made without conſideration, and it were better to breake them, then diſhoneſtly to put them in effect: as that which was made by *Herod* to his daughter in law, which daunced before him at a banket; and this promiſe to giue to her what ſhe ſhould demaund, was made
D without conſideration, and ſinfully and wickedly performed: whereby he purchaſed perpetuall infamie, and the iuſt man vniuſtly loſt his life. Some there are alſo which promiſe diſhoneſt and reprochfull things, and more ſhamefully performe them: and to theſe men ordinarily commeth that which *Cicero* ſpeaketh of, that wicked promiſes hurt him which made them, and him alſo which receiueth them: whereof the examples are daily ſo manifeſt, in robberies, murthers, and ſuch other Riots, that it is needles to produce them. But ſpeaking of promiſes which are made, not through neceſſitie, but free and voluntarily, if they be of honeſt matters, I ſay they

they muſt be performed: for to faile in them, there happen & grow E
many euils and inconueniences; as was the promiſe of *Robert Geſcard* made to *Roger* his naturall brother. This *Robert* in the diuiſion of the Norman Empire, promiſed to his brother *Roger* the halfe of Calabria, and all Sicilie: but when it came to ſharing and diuiding, *Robert* would giue him nothing in Calabria, but Meto and Squillacci, and bad him to purchaſe the Realme which he alreadie began to poſſeſſe, meaning Sicilie, and in the end reſolued, according to *Alexanders* words to *Darius*, that as the world could not endure two Sunnes, ſo one Realme could not endure two ſoueraigne Lords. *Roger* being much diſpleaſed herewith, made warre againſt F
him, and after many aduentures, hauing taken him priſoner in a Caſtle, where *Robert* vnwiſely was entred, in the habit of a paiſant, to bring it to his owne deuotion, *Roger* of a brotherly pitie ſaued his life, and reſtored him to his eſtate, which by right of warre, and being priſoner, hee had loſt. So *Roberts* failing of his word, was the cauſe that he entred into ſuch diſorder, ſo as if hee had had to deale with any other then his brother, hee had peraduenture learned to his loſſe, or to his perpetuall diſhonour, how great a fault it is not to performe and keep thoſe promiſes, which no man conſtrained him to make. G

Meto and Squillacci.

King Robert *taken priſoner, & afterwards graciouſly deliuered by his brother* Roger.

CHAP. 71.

In what caſe promiſes exacted perforce, ought to bee performed.

H

ALthough that ſome haue ſaid and left in writing, that promiſes made by conſtraint ought not to be performed, alleaging the example of the Romanes, when they made agreement with the Samnites; I ſay neuertheleſſe, that that ought not to bee taken for a law or a generall rule, for that it is not a thing ſecure for all men to faile in their promiſe, notwithſtanding that it were made by force. I ſay then, that he which is conſtrained to make ſome promiſe, to graunt perforce,

A perforce, and ſigne the Articles of agreement with all ſolemnitie,
may in two manners conſider, after that hee is at libertie and out of
his power, to whom he made the promiſe, to wit, whether hee be in
point or ſtate to ſurpaſſe, or to hold himſelfe equal with him, which
conſtrained him to be inferiour and inequall. If he who hath been
conſtrained to accept of ſome vnreaſonable conditions, may haue
the better of him that forced him, I ſay, that ſeeing hee is out of his
hands and power, hee may reſolue not to keepe any promiſe made
vnto him, nor obſerue any Articles thereof: And for this cauſe the
Romanes would not maintaine nor obſerue the promiſes which
B they had made vnto the Samnites: and for the ſame reaſon, the
great King *Francis* the firſt, Monarke of France, would not main-
taine to *Charles* the fift any thing that he had promiſed, concerning
Burgundie or any other matter, when he was priſoner; becauſe that
they then, and he now being at liberty, might at euen hand encoun-
ter their enemies, and againe trie the fortune of the warres and win,
as it happened to the Romanes. But when a man that is forced to a-
greement, cannot poſſibly haue the vpper hand, or to returne again
equally to fight with him who hath conſtrained him, he ought not
to faile of his promiſe; and he which doth otherwiſe, committeth a
C great fault: for he which ſeeth himſelfe mockt, fretteth againſt him,
to whom whileſt he was in his hands hee granted, and did ſome fa-
uour, and againe maketh warre againſt him, doth wholy vndoe and
ruinate him, or bindeth him in ſuch ſort, that he ſhall haue no more
occaſion to breake promiſe with him, neither to aſſemble forces to
reſiſt or make head againſt him.

Whereforé King Francis *the firſt, would not performe the articles of agreement made betweene him and* Charles *the fift.*

The Saguntines fell into this error, when the firſt time that they
were inuaded by *Hannibal* of Carthage, as *Plutarch* reciteth in the
treatiſe of noble women, and principally of the women of Sagunt:
for (ſaith he) before that *Hannibal* leuied armes to inuade Italie, he
D went into Spaine to take the Citie of Sagunt; and the ſiege thereof
was ſo furious, that the Saguntines, vnable to withſtand it, came to a
compoſition, and promiſed *Hannibal* to doe what he would com-
maund them, and ſware that they would bee obedient and obſerue
their promiſes. And among other conditions were theſe, that *Han-
nibal* ſhould raiſe his ſiege and depart, and ſo ſoone as he ſhould be
out of the countrie, and the Citie free and at libertie, they ſhould
pay him three hundred talents of ſiluer, which may amount to the
ſumme of one hundred and foure ſcore thouſand French Crownes
of gold, and ſhould deliuer vnto him three hundred gentlemen for

Plutarch *of noble women.*

hoſtages,of all that they had couenanted and agreed vpon toge- E
ther. After the ſiege was raiſed, and *Hanniball* out of the countrie, and land of Sagunt, the Saguntines repenting them of the agreement,would not obſerue their promiſes made by force. Wherewith *Hanniball* being moued, returned to beſiege the Citie, in ſuch ſort,that the Saguntines, to ſaue their liues, were content to accept of what the Carthaginians would : and *Hanniball* commaunded them to lay downe their Armes, and permitted the men to depart the Citie in their coates onely, and would not ſuffer that the women ſhould carrie any more then one ſute of apparell vpon their backes onely, and that they ſhould goe ſo whither they would. F
Theſe were farre harder conditions then the firſt, which they needed not to haue receiued,if they had not failed of their firſt promiſes made perforce,being vnable to maſter the enemie,neither again to trie their fortune by Armes,for being vnequall vnto him.

Hannibal *compelled the Saguntines to depart out of their Countrey, with onely the clothes on their backes.*

In the yeere of our ſaluation 1277. *Ottacar* King of Bohemia,hauing firſt made ſome promiſes to the Emperour *Rodulph* the firſt, and hauing ſworne to them, and done him homage in his Pauillion: which he did perforce,and for feare to loſe the battaile,which ſhould preſently haue beene fought, for his Armie was by a great deale leſſe in number then the Emperours : and for this cauſe hee G
accepted perforce of any condition offered vnto him. But after that *Ottacar* was returned into his kingdome, *Cunicunda* his wife reproued and blamed him for his ſmall courage,and that he without one blow ſtriken, had accepted and receiued ſo great diſhonour. Wherefore (wroth at his wiues words, and for the remembrance which was yet freſh, of the iniurie which *Rodulph* had done him, when he made him to be ſeene of all his armie vpon his knees before him : for his Pauillion was made in ſuch ſort, that it fell iuſt then when hee vpon his knees did him homage, which hee would not to haue happened) he againe rebelled, and held no part of his H
promiſe. Wherfore putting themſelues both in armes,and the King of Bohemia willing againe to trie the fortune of the warre,battaile was giuen,wherein (for this that *Ottacar* was of leſſe force, though equall in deſpite and choler) he was ouercome and ſlaine: which had not happened vnto him,if he had conſidered that he could not fight with equall force againſt the Emperour, and that he was then in the ſame neceſſitie which he was in before, when he firſt compounded with him. And if the Emperour had not been of ſo good a minde and conſcience as hee was, hee might haue ſeazed on his

kingdome

A kingdome by the law of Armes: but being content to haue ouercome, hee gaue the kingdome of Bohemia to *Vinceſlaus*, ſonne of King *Ottacar* deceaſed, and withall gaue him his daughter in mariage. Hee then which will not maintaine and keepe his promiſes made perforce, let him firſt meaſure himſelfe and his forces, and ſee whether he be able to make his partie good againſt his enemie; and then if he finde himſelfe able to doe it, he may reſolue to faile of his promiſes. But he that hath not forces to ouercome, or equally to reſiſt, let him not put himſelfe in danger, for hee will euer finde himſelfe deceiued.

The noble minde of the Emperour Rodulph the firſt.

B

CHAP. 72.

VVhen a Generall or chiefe Commander too much doubteth his enemie, and too much diſtruſteth his owne forces, he ſhall neuer effect any laudable enterpriſes.

C

TO make account of an enemie, as much as is needful, is the part of a wiſe Captain: but to haue ſuch opinion, and to make ſo great reckoning of him that it bereaueth you of courage to aſſaile him, is rather a ſigne of baſe feare, then of a wiſe doubt. Wherefore when a Generall gouerneth himſelfe with conſideration, and ſheweth that hee ſo much eſteemeth the enemies valour, that he will not hazard raſhly to aſſault him, neither with ſhame and puſillanimitie to flie from him, he doth well, & maD keth himſelfe knowne to bee wiſe and of iudgement. But to the contrary, when he ſheweth to make ſuch account of him, & to haue ſuch diſtruſt in his owne forces, that he dareth not attempt to ſound him, hee ſhall neuer be able to doe any thing of worth, and in vaine ſhall ſpend his time, and the charge which he muſt be at: and the iſſue of the warre ſhall be diſhonorable vnto him, and dammageable to his Prince. This is perceiued betweene two priuate enemies, when the one in his heart conceiueth a great opinion of the valour and courage of the other, and diſtruſteth himſelfe, either becauſe he wanteth courage, or knoweth not how to handle his weapons: this

conceit maketh him ſo fearefull, that he eſcheweth all occaſions to enter into any quarrell againſt him, and to fight with him. Wee ſee the like in open warres, that when one armie too much eſteemeth and is afraid of the other, it doth nothing elſe but retire, and turne to this place, or that place, encampe in ſome ſtrong place, and make delaies; ſo as wanting courage to aſſaile the enemie, without making any proofe and experiment whether they had reaſon to feare or no. *Francis Maria* Duke of Vrbin, being Generall for the Venetians, and the League, after the deliuerie of the French King, was to go to relieue and ſet at libertie *Francis Sforce*, who was beſieged in the Caſtle of Milan: being come to the Citie, he conceiued ſuch an opinion of the Spaniſh and Almaine ſouldiers which beſieged the Caſtle, and had ſo ſmall confidence in his own Armie, that he eſteemed it vile: ſo that although there were therein many old ſouldiers, and famous Captaines of Italie; yet he tooke a conceit in his mind, that he would not charge them, without ſome mightie ſquadron of Swiſſers: and going to Milan for this enterpriſe, to deliuer the Duke and the Caſtle, he loſt ſo much time in attending the Swiſſers, that he gaue leaue, meanes and leiſure to the Duke of Bourbon, to enter into Milan with a garriſon and forces of other Spaniſh troupes, and his hope was loſt, and the foundation laid on the people of Milan. And ſo many other occaſions ſeruing fit for his purpoſe to haue effected his deſſeignes, and to haue preuailed in this enterpriſe, eſcaped out of his hands: and in the end with this delaying and remouing his Campe from place to place, attending the comming of the Swiſſers, he went to the gates of Milan, thinking to haue found no reſiſtance: but at the firſt charge hee found himſelfe deceiued, for the Spaniards well defended the port towards Rome, which he aſſaulted, and ſlew fortie of his men, and wounded many; and in defending the Suburbes was done the like. Wherefore the Duke being more confirmed in his opinion of the valour of the enemie, and the cowardiſe of his Italian ſouldiers, hee ſuddenly determined to withdraw himſelfe from Milan with his Armie: and ſo the ſame night he gaue the Popes Lieutenant and the Pourueiour of the Venetians to vnderſtand of his determination, and how that hee had alreadie begun to put it in execution, perſwading them to doe the like: and ſo going to incamp himſelfe at Marignan, he reſolued not to depart from thence vntill his ſuccours of twelue thouſand Swiſſers ſhould be come, iudging it impoſſible to obtaine the victorie, without two armies; whereof each of them apart, had beene ſufficient

E F G H

Guicci. lib. 17.

A Prince, is the cauſe of the loſſe of an eſtate: and was plainely ſeene in *Siluius Paſſerin*, whom Pope *Clement* the ſeuenth had eſtabliſhed in the gouernment of Florence, to the end, that in the houſe of Medicis ſhould be conſerued the dignitie of gouernment, as tofore it had been. This man, when in the yeare 1527. the Citie roſe againſt that noble familie, after the newes of the ſacke of Rome, became ſo miſerable, that he would not ſpend a farthing of his owne for his Maſters profit, and being impoſſible to get any of the Popes treaſure for many reaſons, he loued rather to depart from Florence with the Popes Nephewes, and ſuffer thoſe of that houſe, to be dri-
B uen from thence; then that he would put his hand to his purſe to pay the Souldiers of *Countie Peter de Noſeri*, which he had there to guard the Citie. As for thoſe which haue the managing of the warres, it appeareth in the ſeruants and Captaines which had the handling of the money of *Lewes* the 12. King of France, when he warred againſt the King of Spaine in Italie, for the Kingdome of Naples. This auarice beſides many other diſgraces and ill fortunes, was the cauſe that the King, who had prouided all things neceſſarie in great aboundance, to his diſhonour loſt the enterpriſe. Where-
C fore Princes muſt pray vnto God, that it may pleaſe him to accompanie with their diligence and vertue, the bountie and fidelitie of their ſeruants: and to vſe the ſpeeches of *Guicciardin*, As for the ſuſtaining of the bodie, it ſufficeth not that the head be well, but it is alſo neceſſarie, that all the other parts doe their dutie and office: euen ſo, it is not enough that the Prince be exempt from fault in his affaires, if that vertue and diligence be not likewiſe found in his ſeruants. As for the auarice of thoſe which haue the guarde of Caſtles, holds, and fortreſſes, it is very hurtfull and pernicious to the Prince, who employeth them; whereof there be ſo many memorable examples, that it ſhall not neede to take the paines to recite
D them; there are ſo many, that we ſee by experience, that with one handfull of golde a man may breake and beate into peeces, a gate of yron. Let Princes then take heede how they giue any charge vnto thoſe which they knowe, or haue heard reputed to be couetous, for they will neuer be good ſeruants, and will euer loue their owne profit better (for it is their nature) than their Maſters.

The auarice of the ſeruants and Captaines of Lewes the 12. were cauſe of his ruine.

Guicciar. lib. 6

E

CHAP. 74.

Princes ought to ſuffer their ſeruants and familiars to grow rich, ſo as it be not through diſhoneſt meanes.

F

ALthough the common people may conceiue an ill opinion when they ſee ſome Minion or fauorite of the Prince to grow rich, thinking that ſuch riches are not gotten by iuſt and reaſonable meanes, yet neuertheleſſe the Prince ought to giue time and meanes to his familiars and fauourites to enrich themſelues: and yet he ought not therefore to endure, that vnder the ſhadow of the fauour which they haue, they doe any thing againſt reaſon, or preſume to conſtraine him to doe the leaſt iniuſtice of the world. For the Prince and iuſtice being one and the ſame thing, when a man taketh from the Prince any part of his dignitie, a man cutteth away ſo much of the habit of his iuſtice, and theſe two words can neuer agree together, Prince, and vniuſt. Wherefore when he knoweth that any one of his fauorites or familiars vſeth any vnlawfull and vnworthie meanes to enrich himſelfe, or when he knoweth that he ſueth and intreateth for any thing that is vniuſt, he doth a thing worthie of himſelfe, when he doth puniſh him ſpeedely, and holdeth him for a mortall enemie. But when too great affection, or ſome other reſpect, withholdeth the Prince from puniſhing a fauorite, who to enrich him, required ſome vniuſt thing, he ſhould at the leaſt correct him by gentle meanes, and to make him to knowe, that rather than he will doe iniuſtice, at the inſtance and prayer or intreatie of another, he will be readie to giue out of his own purſe, as did King *Artaxerxes* by a Groome of his chamber, by whom he was prayed and entreated for a matter very inconuenient, who in lieu of that which he deſired, gaue him thirtie talents, and ſaid vnto him, This which I giue thee, doth not make me leſſe rich: but if I ſhould graunt that which thou demaundeſt, I ſhould be leſſe iuſt; which is not expedient either for thee or me, becauſe I ſhould

G

H

The liberalitie of Artaxerxes.

loſe

A cient to haue withſtoode and reſiſted the enemies, vnited altogethers. And although the chiefe Commanders of the Armie of the League were diſcontent with this departure, and were of diuers opinions of this his ſudden reſolution, in the end it was thought that the Duke did it for no other cauſe, then for that he was returned to his firſt opinion, by the which he ſtood in greater doubt of the forces of the enemie, and did more diſtruſt the valour of the Italian ſouldiers, then all the reſt of the Captaines and Commanders did. And among others the Lord *Iohn de Medicis*, who commaunded the Arriergard with the Popes Infantrie, would neuer retire vntill
B it was light day, ſaying, that in ſtead of victorie he would not beare the ſhame and diſhonour to runne away by night. That the Dukes feare, and his ſudden determination were without any foundation, experience, and the iſſue of the affaires doe plainly make manifeſt: for there was none of the Emperors armie that ſallied out to charge the Arriergard and taile of the armie: and when it was day, the Spaniards themſelues did marueile at their ſudden diſorderly retraite. A Captaine then ought not ſo to drowne himſelfe in his own conceit, and iudgement of the valour and cowardiſe of others, if firſt hee haue not made (and that more then once) ſome notable
C triall: for to ſettle an opinion, and to beleeue that it is ſo, maketh a man fearefull, and when the Lion which leadeth the Harts, ſhall ſeeme to be afraid, hee ſhall neuer make the Harts become Lions: and when the Generall ſhall ſhew himſelfe diſmaied, the ſouldiers will likewiſe be out of heart. I thinke the Duke of Vrbin did it not without ripe iudgement, and it might ſo be that he knew the Duke of Bourbons entrie into Milan, which was very ſecret, and was not peraduenture knowne to the reſt, and that he ſaw many difficulties to remaine there, knowne to himſelfe onely, and therefore choſe this manner of retraite, for that he would not engage his Armie, be-
D ing vnable to ſuccour the Duke of Milan. And being a moſt noble Prince, and in that time eſteemed the moſt wiſe Captaine that followed the warres, and reputed the chiefe Captaine of all Italie, as in truth he was, it is not to be beleeued that hee would haue retired ſo without ſome great reaſon, which hee alone did vnderſtand, well knowing alſo that this retraite would be accounted little to his honour.

E

CHAP. 73.

Princes ought to giue no charge to couetous Men.

A Great Prince ought to foreſee, and principallie to take order for three things, which are of great im- F portance, to wit, to the gouernment of eſtates and prouinces, the managing of the warres, the guard of holds and Fortreſſes: for all which a couetous man is altogether vnfit. For this auarice conſiſting in the deſire of gaine, and the villanous and Mechanicall ſparing to ſpend, it followeth that when ſuch men haue any of thoſe charges, that they let all goe to ruine, either for ſparing to ſpend any thing of their owne to maintaine and preſerue it, or to make their benefit by letting it be loſt: and ſo the order of all things being by the couetous man peruerted, it followeth of force, that G all muſt goe to wracke. A couetous ſeruant to the gouernours of Prouinces and eſtates, repreſenting the perſon of the Prince, may be the occaſion of rebellion, and alſo the loſſe of the eſtate, by rebellion and mutinie, when by new great charges, exactions, and impoſitions, the people, Prouinces, and Cities fall into deſpaire, and loſe their patience. This auarice conſiſteth in getting: as it happened by the ſeruants and Captaines, which for the Romane Empyre, gouerned the Prouince of the Battauians, while as the Empyre was diuided, and the two Emperours at warres togethers, *Couetous ſeruants and officers are the cauſe of the ruine of their Prince, and rebellion of his ſubiects.* theſe Gouernours making choyſe of Souldiers, they enrolled the H olde men, to the end they ſhould giue money to be exempted from the warres; and thoſe which were decrepit, vnfit, and vnable, to the end that they ſhould doe the like. Wherefore this Prouince reuolted and rebelled, and *Ciuilis* which was a man of great courage, and noblie deſcended, making himſelfe chiefe head of the rebellion, did much hurt and dammage to the Romanes, ſeeing that by his meanes this Prouince ſhooke off their obedience: This auarice alſo which conſiſteth (as a man might ſay) in this pedlerie, in ſparing to ſpend, when need requireth, being found in the ſeruant of a

Prince,

A loſe the title of a true Prince, and thou ſhouldeſt purchaſe the diſhonour to be a ſeruant to an vniuſt Prince. Pope *Leo* the tenth, a moſt liberall Prince, being intreated by an houſehold fauorite of his, that it would pleaſe him to beſtowe a benefice vpon a friend of his, who knowing that the requeſt was neither iuſt nor honeſt, and that he ſhould haue ſome good ſumme of money for the procuring hereof, he ſmiling demanded what he had, for this diſpatch: his ſeruant and fauourite freely anſwered, that he had 200. Ducates: the Pope merely gaue him 200. Ducates of his owne, and ſaid, goe and deliuer thy friend his money againe, and tell him that thou
B canſt not obtaine this fauour: for if I ſhould graunt vnto thee that which thou demaundeſt, I ſhould during my life haue a remorſe of conſcience, and ſhould be reputed for an vnwiſe Prince. To conclude then, I ſay that when Princes giue meanes to their fauourites, lawfully to enrich themſelues, then if they doe, or would importune their Princes to doe any vnworthie thing, they ought to be puniſhed with ſeueritie, or that their Princes let them knowe, that they loue better to giue of their owne, then to yeeld, or be induced by their ſute and intreatie to do any, the leaſt iniuſtice of the world.

Pope Leo the tenth, his diſcourſe to a Groome of his chamber.

C

CHAP. 75.

It is very dangerous to let ſlip time, and not to execute what is determined, principally in the warres.

D THoſe men ſeeme to me to be very wiſe, who when they are to execute ſome enterpriſe of great importance, firſt ripely conſult with wiſe men, who tell them their opinions without any paſſion of loue or hatred; but when the affaires are ripelie debated and concluded, that there reſteth nothing but the execution, when a man then doth deferre and loſeth time, the enterpriſe is peſtered, and in danger to proue ill. Wherefore, when a man hath concluded to doe a thing, and the qualitie of the matter requireth diligence, it ought ſpeedily

to

to bee executed: for the delaying may in an inſtant alter the eſtate of the affaires; prouided that a man be not troubled by certaine accidents, which he could not foreſee, and ſo turned from that which he ought to haue put in effect, principally in the warres, and conſeruation of things alreadie gotten: for the leaſt fault which a man committeth, may giue leiſure and occaſion to the enemie ſo to prouide, that all the plots and counſels, how good ſoeuer, ſhall ſerue to no purpoſe. And for this cauſe men ſay, that counſels and enterpriſes are to be taken in hand in cold blood, and the execution thereof to bee done in hot blood. That to deferre and delay the execution of things firſt well deuiſed, is the occaſion of loſſe and harme, may plainly be ſeene by *Charles* the 8. King of France, who hauing happily conquered the realme of Naples, loſt (when he returned into France) much time, and was ſlow in ſending (according to the reſolution taken) garriſons and prouiſions neceſſarie for the keeping of thoſe things which he had gotten: For he was no ſooner out of Italie, but hee began to loſe all; and the occaſion was, that while as he was at Lions, and ought ſpeedily to haue prouided for the wars, and to returne preſently againe into Italie, hee tooke (without reaſon, and without conſideration of the importance of the affaires) poſt horſe, and rode to Paris to ſee a Ladie which hee much loued. His departure was the cauſe that the affaires of Naples went from euill to worſe: for they which had the guard of Caſtles and Fortreſſes, and did attend ſuccours from France, ſeeing it ſo farre off, and ſo long a comming, compounded with the enemie, and lightly rendred that, which they had eaſily gotten. And ſo the loſſe of time, and negligence in affaires of great importance (well deuiſed, but ill executed) was cauſe of the ſhamefull loſſe of a Realme conquered with great glorie. *Don Hugues de Moncado*, Viceroy of Naples, committed the ſame fault in the yeare 1528. when the Lorde of Lautrech was before Naples with a French Armie; for the ſaid *Moncado* had determined to diſperſe and ſcatter the Fleete and armie by Sea of *Phillipin de Doria*, which held all the coaſt of Salern in ſubiection, and did ſtoppe the paſſage of victuals and other prouiſion to goe to Naples; he rigged certaine veſſels, and furniſhed them with braue Souldiers, with whom went many Lords, and the ſame *Don Hugues* himſelfe in perſon. The ſaid Armie, in good order being parted from Poliſippo, arriued at the Iſle of Capra, where *Don Hugues* did this notable fault, that to no purpoſe hee loſt much time: and this loſſe of time, with the diligence

Enterpriſes ought to be conſulted of in cold blood, and executed in hot blood.

Guicci. lib. 3.

E F G H

A gence of *Phillipin*, who hauing ſented the determination of the Imperialiſts, had ſomewhat prouided for his affaires, was the cauſe that the ſuccours which hee had demaunded of the Lord of Lautrech, had time to arriue at *Doria* his Armie, and to put themſelues in order to fight; and the time was ſo ſhort, that the French had ſcarcely ſetled themſelues in the Gallies when *Don Hugues* arriued, and they muſt fight; where *Doria* remained victour, and *Don Hugues* was ſlaine, and many Lords were taken priſoners: and ſo *Moncado* to his hurt and loſſe gaue example to others not to loſe time about needleſſe things, in enterpriſes which haue neede of di-
B ligence. He deſerueth not to bee blamed, who doth not ſpeedilie execute his determination, if he be hindred by ſome ſtrange accident, which could not be foreſeene before it came, and whereto a man could yeeld no remedie after it was come, as that which happened to *Peter de Medicis*, when with his forces hee tooke his way towards Florence, and to haue reentred into it: for if he had not been hindred, his comming was ſo ſudden, that they within, had not had leaſure to haue made reſiſtance. But when *Peter* was vpon the way, there fell ſo great and continuall raine, that he was conſtrained to ſtay, and could not get to the Citie before it was
C late: and this ſtay gaue time to his aduerſaries within, to Arme themſelues, and to make him reſiſtance.

CHAP.

E

CHAP. 76.

Thoſe Princes which make no account of their Generals, which faithfullie ſerue them, but giue them occaſion to forſake their pay and ſeruice, commit great faults.

F

THe diſhoneſt and vituperable vice of ingratitude ought by Princes & Common-wealths to be auoyded, as moſt vnworthie to be lodged in royall hearts, and the breaſts of noble Senatours: and if a man euer ought to flye it in any thing, he ought principally to doe it in the behalfe of Captaines and others chiefe Commaunders in the warres, by whom the Prince hath been faithfully ſerued, prouided that the fault grow not from themſelues. And whether it be either Prince or Common- G
wealth that be reduced to this point, to be ingratefull to thoſe, who valiantly and faithfully haue ſerued them, a man may ſay that they are fallen blinde, and that not onely they haue ſmall care of their reputation, but that they perceiue not, that they incurre great dangers, which are of importance. This ingratitude of cuſtome riſeth through many occaſions, among which this is one, that a man knowing ſometime that he hath receiued a great pleaſure, and cannot ſufficiently recompence it, he reſolueth to pay it with ingratitude. But ſpeaking to the purpoſe, I ſay, that a Prince which giueth occaſion to his Captaines to forſake him (after that they haue well H
and truly ſerued him) and to goe oftentimes to the ſeruice of his enemies, beſides the ſpot and ſtaine of ingratitude, he incurreth the diſhonour and blame of auarice; and it is to be deemed that the ſame proceedeth from the inconſideration of him, who is now eſcaped out of the neceſſitie and danger wherein he was, who thinketh that he ſhall neuer returne and reenter into the ſame againe. Of this condition are thoſe, who hauing had a Generall or other chiefe and valorous conductor, in their ſeruice in the warres, for the leaſt occaſion that may happen, eſtrange themſelues vnto them,

and

A and diſplace them, with ſmall reputation for their parts, and vſing vnciuill demeanour toward them, giue them occaſion to leaue them, and goe to their enemies. This manner of proceeding is very dangerous, and draweth after it many euils, which afterwards proue remedileſſe., for a man can giue no greater ioy to an enemie than this, to wit, to giue him meanes to draw from him men that are valiant and faithfull, and to bring them to his ſeruice: for this cauſe the ſayings of *Artaxerxes* vſed to *Themiſtocles* the Athenian, who was baniſhed by his Citizens, and comming to ſee
B him, were much commended, I cannot (ſaid he) deſire a greater euill to mine enemies, than that being blinded with auarice or hatred, they be depriued of the valour and prudence of ſuch men, and eſtrange themſelues from them. *Alberigue de Barbian*, a man of great valour and reputation in the warres in his time, committed this error, hee hauing ſubdued the Bouloignois, through the proweſſe and valour of *Braccio de Monton*, which he acknowledged with many ſignes of curteſie and good will, commending him publikelie, and increaſed his pay and his charge, gaue him the armes and enſignes of his houſe, and finallie the gouernment of the whole
C Armie. After the warres of Boulogna were ended, it happened that the Venetians made warres vpon the Lordes of Padoua, to which the ſaid *Barbian* was of kinne and allyed, hee ſent to their ſuccours, certaine Captaines of horſe and foote, and appoynted *Braccio*, *Lorens de Cotignola*, and *Roſſo de L'aigle* for chiefe Commaunders of thoſe troupes. *Lorens* and *Roſſo* did greatly malice the glorie of *Braccio*, and by many detractions and ſlaunderous ſpeeches, bringing him in diſgrace with *Barbian*, brought it ſo to paſſe, that he giuing credit to their backbitings, ſlaunderous wordes and letters, reſolued with *Lorens* and *Roſſo* to cauſe *Braccio* to be ſlaine. *Barbians*
D Wife, which deerelie loued the vertue of *Braccio*, knowing how much her husband was bound vnto him, and being acquainted with the purpoſe and deuiſes of *Roſſo* and *Lorens*, and with the reſolution it ſelfe which they had taken to put him to death, ſhe aduertiſed *Braccio* thereof, willing him ſpeedilie to be gone, for that her husband would cauſe him to bee ſlaine, and tolde him the courſe which was to be held, & who they were which had perſwaded him thereto. *Braccio* hauing this aduertiſement, which he ſoone had, being lodged but a league from thence, becauſe of the winter, mounted on horſebacke, with the greateſt part of his beſt friends, without ſaddles or ſtirrups, and got him out of the confines of *Bar-*

bians dominion, and fled to the enemies Campe, whither hee was very welcome. When the flight of *Braccio* was made knowne, the Souldiers began to mutin and raile againſt thoſe which had brought him into diſgrace with *Barbian*, and to blame *Barbian* for his lightnes. Wherefore *Barbian* being very ſory, but too late, that he had giuen *Braccio* occaſion to flie from him, and grieued to be depriued of ſo valorous a Captaine, wrote him a letter, by which he deſired to ſpeake with him, and yeelding himſelfe culpable, offered to giue him better pay, and more honourable charge than euer hee had before. But *Braccio* anſwering him with great grauitie, would no more aſſure himſelfe of him, neither goe to ſerue a Prince, who, peraduenture another day, carried away with the like lightnes, might againe conſpire his death. So *Barbian* raſhlie without thinking thereof, giuing occaſion to *Braccio* to forſake him, and to goe to his enemies, was the cauſe of the decay of the Padouan Brothers, and the aduauncement of their enemies.

The errour of Alberigue de Barbian. Guicciardin. lib. 12.

The Catholike King alſo committed this errour, making ſhew lightlie to regard *Peter de Nauarra*, a Captaine much eſteemed and verie valiant in the wars; for this King conceiued in his minde, that the ouerthrow at Rauenna, (wherein *Peter* was taken priſoner) happened (for the moſt part) through his fault; and this *Peter* being priſoner in France, and ſet at 20000 Duckats ranſome; the King continuing his diſpleaſure, would not harken to the paiment, nor to deliuer him. Wherfore *Peter* perceiuing that the King did little eſteeme him, and thinking that hee made more account of 20000 crownes then of him, reſolued to ſerue the French king, *Francis* the firſt, who loued him much, and payde his ranſome of 20000 crownes, to the Marqueſſe of Rottelin, to whom King *Lewes* the twelfth had giuen him; and *Peter* to auoide all diſhonour, gaue the Catholike King to vnderſtand, that ſith hee was abandoned by him, and was conſtrained to leaue in the kingdome of Naples, the eſtate, which hee held by his gift, being forced by neceſſitie, hee turned to the King of France, who hee knew would be his perpetuall enemie. But King *Francis* the firſt did no leſſe a fault, to giue occaſion to *Andre Dorie* to forſake his ſeruice, and to ſerue another: for *Dorie* hauing ſerued him verie faithfullie, with his Gallies, the ſpace of fiue yeares continuallie, thinking to haue deſerued ſo well as to haue bin employed in all occaſions for chiefe; the King either for that, he cared little for him, eyther for that he was perſwaded by the prayers and intreaties of the Princes of France, which enuying the Italians, loue not to ſee them

The errour of Ferdinand *king of Spaine.*

The errour of Francis *the firſt king of France.*

A them grow great in the French Court; made Admirall and Generall of the Sea, in the enterpriſe of Naples, *Mounſieur de Barbeſieux*, leauing *Dorie* (as a priuate Captaine) leader of his own Gallies onlie; who thought that his deſerts had bin ſuch, that if he had refuſed ſuch a charge, hee ſhould haue beene inſtantlie intreated to haue accepted thereof. Hee thought alſo, that there was great wrong done him, in that hee was not paid 20000 crownes due vnto him for his ſeruice, without the which hee could not entertaine his gallies, and becauſe that the king was ſo earneſt with him, to haue the Marques *de Guaſt* and *Aſcaigno Colomna* his priſoners, notwithſtanding that
B he promiſed to pay their ranſome, yet it ſeemed that hee would by force take them from him, by his royall authoritie: and beſides that the king had deliuered the Prince of Orange, his priſoner, & would not that hee ſhould pay his ranſome at 20000 crownes. All theſe things then, and many others, whereby the King ſhewed the ſmall account he made of him; were the cauſe that *Dorie* forſooke his ſeruice, and went to ſerue the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, and the Spaniſh nation, whereof hee had bin a mortall enemie. And notwithſtanding the King perceiuing his owne fault, ſent to *Dorie*, making him many faire offers, yet it was too late, for hee would not accept
C thereof, thinking that they were made by conſtraint, and that the King had bin verie ſlow, to ſhew him curteſie, vntill that neceſſitie, and not his owne will, did induce him to doe it: the King was liberall when it was too late, of that which he ought to haue giuen him long before: and receiued greater loſſe, by loſing this Captaine, then if hee had loſt the halfe of his armie by Sea, as the ſucceſſe of things which afterwards happened, do make manifeſt. Princes and common wealthes may learne by theſe examples, to take heed that they loſe not thoſe men, in whoſe vertue they may boldlie repoſe much truſt, hauing them on their ſide; and not hauing them, haue
D great occaſion to ſtand in doubt, and ought not vpon euery light occaſion to neglect them, & vſe them in ſuch ſort, that they giue them cauſe to abandon them; but ought to cheriſh them, and with tokens of thankfulnes, to ſhew themſelues kinde and gracious vnto them, both while they are liuing, and alſo after they are dead. In this reſpect the Florentines ſhewed themſelues verie gratefull, when they erected publike Statues vnto *Iohn Acute* an Engliſhman: and the Lords of Venice deſerue great praiſe, who haue neuer vſed to eſtrange from them, the harts of thoſe which haue well ſerued them: but their charges being brought to an end, they haue returned them

Guicciar. li. 19

Andrew Dori *forſooke King Francis the firſt, at his greateſt needes.*

verie honourablie; and if they died in their ſeruice, in token of thankfulnes & good will, they haue relieued their children, giuiug them the charges of their Fathers,and the yearelie penſions,which their fathers had in their life time: and haue erected vnto Captains being dead,for the perpetual & honourable remembrance of them, ſtatues of braſſe and marble on horſebacke:as a man may ſee in *Gatta Mallata*, and in *Bartelmy de Bergamo*, and many others in the citie of Venice,and the Seignorie therof;all which are things fit and proper to incite the hearts of Captaines, to vertue, loue, and fidelitie, wherewith a man ought to ſerue great Princes and honourable common wealths. E F

CHAP. 77.

A priuate Captaine ſeruing a Prince, or a Generall, ought not to receiue any preſent or gift from the Prince or Generall, which is enemie to his Lord and Maſter. G

One onely fooliſh act maketh a man to be reputed a foole, and one act of infidelitie maketh a man to be for euer held for diſloyall.

AS to gaine the reputation of wiſe and vertuous, many vertuous and wiſe acts are required: but for a man to make himſelfe to be eſteemed for a foole, one onely fooliſh act ſufficeth; ſo to bee eſteemed faithfull,many proofes of fidelitie are neceſſarie; and to acquire the name of vnfaithfull, and diſloyall, one act of diſloyaltie and fault of dutie, is ſufficient: principally in time of warres,and ſuſpitions,wherein the leaſt ſuſpition, that a man ſheweth of himſelfe,and doubt that hee hath ſome intelligence with the enemie,may doe a man great hurt: which appeareth,when a man vſeth to talke often in ſecret with the enemie,or when a man ſendeth or receiueth letters,when a man receiueth gifts,and preſents, or ſuch like: for this is properly to ſhew a will and inclination to ſerue him, and ſo conſequently a ſigne of running away,or to vſe ſome other meane,which may be to the notable loſſe and dammage of the Lord whom he ſerueth. H

Tartaglia,a valiant ſouldier and renowned Captaine of his time, made

made warres with *Sforce*, in the behalfe of *Lewes* of Aniou, againſt *Alfonſo* King of Arragon. This *Tartaglia*, by reaſon of his valour, was much beloued by *Sforce*, and ſeemed to be much reſpected and eſteemed by *Braccio de Monton*, perpetuall enemie to *Sforce*. It happened that in the time of theſe warres, King *Alfonſo* gaue for a preſent vnto *Tartaglia* certaine faire horſes, and there appeared many other ſignes of *Braccio* his loue vnto him: wherefore *Sforce* entring into ſome ſuſpition of euill, through *Tartaglia* his behauiour, cauſed hands to be laid on him, and to be apprehended, and being conuict of ſecret practiſe and intelligence with the enemie, hee made his head to be ſtriken off. Which may ſerue for an example to other Captaines, which put themſelues in great Lords ſeruice, to take heed, and beware how they bring their faith and credit in queſtion and ſuſpition: for there is no aſſurance nor ſecuritie, to receiue entertainment of two Maſters at once, which are enemies: ſo as, without cauſing great diſtruſt of himſelfe, a man cannot make warre for the one, and ſhew himſelfe friendly vnto the other.

Fazio in his ſecond booke of the act of Alfonſo King of Arragon.

Chap. 78.

When an Ambaſſadour ſpeaketh otherwiſe then as his Maſter, he deſerueth to be had in deriſion.

THe office of an Ambaſſadour Lieger for his Maſter, with ſome Prince or Commonwealth, or which is ſent ſometime to one place, ſometime to another, about affaires of importance, ought alwaies to preſerue and maintaine the honour and reputation of his Prince, defend his actions, exalt his vertues, and ſo to carie himſelfe, that they with whom he doth negotiate, may retaine alwaies a good opinion of him: and if he ſeeth that his Prince committeth an error, or takes ſome courſe which ſeemeth vnfit, his dutie is to excuſe him, ſhewing either the neceſſitie, or the ſtrange and ſudden accidents, and the ſound reaſons which might moue him to take this reſolution, making that to ſeeme to be wittie and requiſit, which is vnwittie and an error. For

an Ambaſſadour which proceedeth in this manner, ſheweth that he E
is a man of ſpirit, and of diſcretion, and hath no neede of a prompter to put it into his braines. But when an Ambaſſadour affirmeth any thing of his Prince, which is certainly knowne to be to the contrarie, and he ſaith in one manner, and his Prince doth in another, it followeth of neceſſitie, ſeeing the words of the one haue no correſpondence with the deeds and actions of the other, that that Ambaſſadour muſt make himſelfe worthie to be mocked, or ſhew himſelfe ignorant of the common aduertiſements: and while as hee thinketh (fooliſhly enough) to mock others, he himſelfe is mocked. Which happeneth by ſo much the more, when he will affirme that F
to be true, which is manifeſtly knowne to the contrarie to bee a lye, and cannot be couered.

King *Francis* the firſt, of France, ſent for his Ambaſſadour, *Mounſieur de Tarbe*, then, when there was a treatie of peace betweene the Emperour *Charles* the fift and this King, to perſwade the Venetians, the Duke of Milan, the Florentines, & the Duke of Ferrara, confederates & allies with the king againſt the Emperor, that they ſhould not thinke, that any peace ſhould be concluded: and ſo farre as to aduiſe them that they ſhould not diſunite themſelues, and to promiſe and aſſure them for certaine, that if the Emperour came into G
Italie, the King of France would come thither alſo with great forces: and he had alſo charge from the King, to mannage with thoſe of the League, the affaires concerning the warre, and the conſeruation of the ſaid League. In this meane ſeaſon the peace was concluded, ratified, and publiſhed, betweene theſe two Princes, with all vſuall ſolemnitie; and for this cauſe the King of France (being aſhamed of his doings) for certaine daies would not ſpeake with the Ambaſſadours of the League. But the Lord of *Tarbe*, which was in Italie, being gone to Venice, to Florence, to the Dukes of Milan and Ferrara, where the concluſion of the peace was alreadie H
knowne, and that the King of France (as a man might ſay) had abandoned Italie to the Emperour, he gaue them to vnderſtand by a ridiculous lye, the great preparation for the warres, as well on the behalfe of his King, as of the King of England; and exhorted the ſaid Princes to doe the like: when as it was certainly knowne, that neither the one nor the other did any thing of that which he reported. Wherefore, while as this Ambaſſadour was executing his charge, he was held for a foole, and a man of ſmall iudgement, ſeeing that it was well knowne that his Kings doings were cleane contrarie

A trarie to his ſayings: and the publication of the peace was ſo manifeſt, that it could not be hidden by any meanes in the world: It had been more for his honour to haue attended a new commiſſion, or to haue executed that which hee had more moderatly, which had made him to haue been accounted and eſteemed for a man of vnderſtanding, knowing how to accommodate himſelf with the time. But hee which would excuſe the Lord of *Tarbe*, might ſay, that the King had deceiued him in giuing him this charge, ſeeing it is a common ſaying, that when one Prince will deceiue another, he will firſt deceiue his owne Ambaſſadour whom he ſendeth.

B

CHAP. 79.

VVhen an Ambaſſadour ſo handleth his Maſters buſineſſe, that it is at the point to be laught at, he cannot auoide the bearing of blame.

C SPeaking of the charge of an Ambaſſadour, I remember to haue ſaid, that an Ambaſſadour ought to be wiſe, of a quicke ſpirit, and readie in reſolutions and anſweres; and when hee hath to mannage matters of importance, that he firſt think well thereupon, and be aduiſed to ſpeake with grauitie that which hee ſpeaketh, not letting ſcape out of his mouth any ſpeeches which may ſhew any mocking, or ieſting at the affaires which are in queſtion: for therein hee ſhall giue occaſion to him to
D whom hee ſpeaketh, be hee a Prince, or ſeruant to a Prince, to yeeld ſome anſweres which may diſpleaſe him: beſides this, that the Ambaſſadour acquireth vnto himſelfe the report to be a man ill framed and faſhioned for affaires of importance. And when a man is confuted by the reaſons of him which ſpeaketh, it were better for the preſent to ſeeme to yeeld to his reaſons, demaunding time to anſwere, then not knowing how to defend and vphold the wrong wherein he is, to expoſe all to be laughed at: purchaſing to his Soueraigne the name of vniuſt and vnwiſe, and to himſelfe the blame to haue taken vpon him to defend a matter, which he can bring to

Affaires of importance are not to be treated of in ieſt.

no good end. And when affaires of importance are expoſed to be mocked at, they lightly turne to the loſſe and dammage of him which cauſeth them to be taken in hand, and to the ſhame and diſgrace of him which mannageth the ſame. The Sienois rebelled againſt *Charles* the 5. at what time as *Don Hugo de Modozza* was gouernour of their town. The ſaid Sienois ſent to Florence for their Ambaſſadour *Alexander Sanſedonio*, where it ſeemeth that the Emperor was deſirous to reduce the Citie to his deuotion in friendly maner, and that by meanes of his ſeruants and officers, the affaires might be carried ſo, that the Sienois ſhould haue humbled themſelues, and haue acknowledged their fault: It happened vpon a day that one of the Emperours Agents talking with *Sanſedonio* of this matter, and blaming the Sienois, and reciting the iniurie done by that Citie to the Empire, *Sanſedonio* anſwered to al, ſometimes in denying, ſometimes ſhewing the ſiniſter and ill informations, then excuſing the Sienois of things done by them. But the Emperours Agent perſiſting in repeating and declaring one offence after another, and finding alwaies new, ſaying, what will you anſwere to this? and continuing, what will you anſwere to that other? and then, how excuſe you ſuch an iniurie? and then, how will you maintaine that other? *Sanſedonio* feeling himſelf oppreſſed and ouercome, and hauing no anſwere fit for the purpoſe to excuſe and iuſtifie his Lords, ſaid with a loud voice, expoſing in a manner all the matter to be laughed at; What a diuell, ſhall not wee of Siena bee excuſed, ſeeing wee are knowne to bee fooles? To whom the Agent made anſwere: Euen that ſhall excuſe you, but vpon the condition which is fit for fooles: which is, to be kept bound and inchained. Some write that this happened at Siena, in the preſence of the Magiſtrate *de Balia*: but howſoeuer it was, *Sanſedonio* ſhuld not haue hazarded affaires of ſo great importance, to be laught at, neither haue made his Lords and Maſters to haue bin accounted fooles, and himſelfe vnwiſe and ill aduiſed; but hee ought to haue found meanes to thinke vpon his anſweres, and deferring them to another day, to haue taken time, & to ſhew ſome apparant excuſe for that which was happened. Let euerie Ambaſſadour then be well aduiſed, that hee put not the affaires which hee mannageth in daunger to be laught at, for that it is not agreeing with the maieſtie of the Prince, which employeth him, neither with the grauity of the Ambaſſadour which handleth the matter: for being laughed at, it is eſteemed to be a matter of ſmall importance, and ſeldome taketh any good effect.

E F G H

The fooliſh anſwere of Sanſedonio Ambaſſadour of Siena.

A ſcoffe vſed by an Agent for Charles the firſt.

CHAP.

A

CHAP. 80.

VVhen a Rebell or a baniſhed man by his Princes grace and fauour is pardoned, and permitted to returne againe into his countrie, he ought not to doubt of his Princes faith.

B

CLemencie in a Prince is highly extolled, when hee reſolueth to pardon a ſubiect, and to reſtore a baniſhed Rebell to his countrie, and by how much the ſubiects offence hath been the more hainous, by ſo much is the Princes clemencie the more praiſe worthie. And to the contrarie, when a ſubiect hauing grace, doubteth of the faith of his Lord, and doth diſtruſt him, he deſerueth much blame. Wherefore they which be-

C ing permitted to returne to their countrie, and hold themſelues in the fields aloofe off, flying their Princes preſence, and ſhew either in ſpeeches, or in their manner of liuing, a feare and diſtruſt, ſuch, as that they ſeeme to haue the Sergeants and other officers at their backes; beſids that they leade an vnhappie life, they do their Prince great wrong, as if that hee had betrayed them, and not pardoned them. And there are ſome ſo conſtant in this conceit, that, to the end that they would not liue in this manner, but bee free from this feare and ſuſpition, loue better to rebell againe, then ciuilly to take the benefit of their Princes fauour and clemencie: of which num-

D ber there were certaine Florentine gentlemen, in the time of the warres of Siena, which being recalled to their countrie by Duke *Coſmo*, and ſo conſequently were receiued with great curteſie into grace and fauour; ſome accepted the returne, and promiſed to raiſe companies; but afterwards moued with this feare, and diſtruſting that promiſe ſhould not bee held with them, reſolued with themſelues to ſtay abroad, and ſerue thoſe which rebelled againſt their countrie: and ſome there were which did ſerue in that warre, and hauing obtained the victory, euen then, when they ſhould haue endeuoured to haue maintained themſelues in the fauour of this moſt

gentle

gentle Prince, being fearefull, went out againe, and would neuer returne to their countrie: both the one and the other were with iuſt cauſe, and euer ſhall be blamed. Thoſe which after that they haue obtained the fauour to returne, being neuertheleſſe in doubt of their Princes word & promiſe, and require aſſurance and ſecuritie, do anger him, & giue him iuſt cauſe of offence: for he which requireth ſecurity of his Princes faith, ſheweth that he eſteemeth him for wicked, and for a man which vſeth treaſon rather then pardon: for which cauſe if the Prince be offended, and reiect him, he is no way to be blamed. For all cannot be like vnto *Alexander* the great, who being entreated by *Proteus* to receiue him againe into grace and fauour, hee granted it him, and afterwards being by him prayed to giue him aſſurance, that this his grace ſhould bee maintained and continued vnto him; wherewith *Alexander* was nothing diſcontented, but pleaſantly anſwered him, that the beſt aſſurance that he could giue him, was to beſtow fiue talents vpon him, to the end that he might be the better able to maintaine himſelfe neere about him. But when as a Prince cannot bee ſo perfect, and complete, with all vertues, as to heape grace vpon grace, but ſhould be diſpleaſed to be dealt withall as a man of little faith, and not to be truſted vpon his word, he were not to be blamed, but the ſubiect ſhould deſerue to be ſharply reproued, who ſhould doubt of his Princes faith, who was not bound by any deſert of a Rebell to pardon him, but receiued him into fauour of his owne meere goodnes and clemencie. And it is to bee beleeued, that a Prince would not ſtaine his renowne and honour ſo farre, as to bring a man vpon his word and faith, to ruine and deſtruction. The effect of all this matter conſiſteth in the ſubiect, that he beware, that by new diſorders and offences, he prouoke not his Princes wrath againſt him, but conſidering the cauſe why he was out, ſo to liue, that Iuſtice take no occaſion to lay hold on him, and puniſh him both for old & new: for he which continueth in offending, ought to be puniſhed, not onely for thoſe faults which he preſently committeth, but alſo for thoſe whereof he hath been alreadie pardoned. The ſubiect then, which is againe receiued into grace, doth ill to liue in feare and ſuſpition, and to flye his Princes preſence, but ought to honour him, to preſent himſelfe before him, and ſo farre forth as conueniently hee may, to ſhew all ſignes of good will and thankfulnes: for in this manner he ſhal giue his Prince cauſe to reſpect him, and to make much of him; as did *Coſmo de Medicis* the great Duke of Tuſcane, an enemie of his, after the

The anſwere of Alexander to Proteus, who required ſecuritie.

E F G H

A the victorie of Mount Murle: for the Duke hauing pardoned him, and knowing him to be a man of authoritie & great grauitie, made him his friend, making him to eate and drinke with him, and cheriſhed him, according as his old age, the nobilitie of his houſe, his linnage, and the degree and dignitie which he held required: and continuing my diſcourſe, and example of the ſame Prince, this hath bin ſeene in him towards his enemies, taken at the battaile of Chiana, that hauing pardoned their faults, and ſaued & preſerued them from the paines of death, whereto they were neere, and condem-
B ned; knowing their vertues yet he loued them, gaue them maintenance, and vſed their ſeruice in honourable places. When then a ſubiect hath recouered his Princes grace and fauor, let him enforce himſelfe to keep it, and let him not enter into an humour to require ſecuritie, neither to doubt of his Princes faith: for if he doe, he ſhall liue infortunatly, and giue his Prince occaſion to looke to his manner of liuing, and to diſtruſt him as an enemie, which is not well reconciled; and as for him he ſhall incurre the danger of an euill end.

The liberalitie of Coſmo de Medicis Duke of Florence.

C

Chap. 81.

How that man ought to behaue himſelfe, to whom is denyed the grace which is deſired of his Prince.

D IT often happeneth vnto ſubiects to intreat fauours at their Princes hands, which happeneth both to inferiours and ſuperiours: and ſometimes it alſo happeneth that a man obtaineth not that which he deſireth, either becauſe the Prince cannot, or becauſe he knoweth the man vncapeable and needleſſe of ſuch a grace, or that for diuers other reſpects, he will not graunt that which is required. In this caſe it is better to diſſemble the diſpleaſure, which a man feeleth through this deniall, and to ſeeme contented with the Princes pleaſure, than to appeare diſcontented, whereby the Prince might doubt that you would remember it another day; whereby ſome hurt might ariſe vnto you, and

A ſubiect ought to diſſemble his diſcontentment when he is reiected by his Prince.

and the Prince might reſolue with himſelfe, neuer after to doe you any pleaſure: whereas, to the contrarie, when a man being denyed, ſheweth himſelfe contented with any occaſion, be it neuer ſo ſmall, that the Prince ſhall alleage for a deniall, and to hold him excuſed, and himſelfe ſatisfied; it will be an occaſion that the Prince will not be offended with him, nor haue any diſtruſt of him: but as occaſion ſhall be offered, will recompence him in lieu of the grace and fauour denied or refuſed. He then which ſheweth himſelfe diſcontented, may doe himſelfe much wrong, and he which doth diſſemble it, may much preuaile thereby: wherefore *Guicciardin* in his aduertiſements ſaith, That for hauing diſſembled the diſcontentment which he conceiued againſt ſome, with whom he was diſpleaſed, at length grew to be profitable vnto him, for afterwards they became his friends, and did him many fauours, which they would neuer haue done, if they had firſt perceiued his ill will and diſcontentment. But this diſſimulation ought not to be ſuch that it may ſeeme hatefull, for ill will is eaſilie perceiued, notwithſtanding that the diſſembler vſe gracious ſpeeches. He alſo which deſireth a fauour, ought not to be ouer curious, and importune to knowe at large the occaſion wherefore he is denied: for which a man ſometimes may receiue ſuch an anſwere as ſhall little pleaſe him; but that the ſutors importunacie draweth it from the Prince his mouth, as *Coſmo de Medicis*, the great Duke of Tuſcane, who cauſed the receiuer of his tenths to be hanged for his demeanour in his charge. Wherefore another Citizen, whom for the honour of his houſe, I will not name, intreated the great Duke to giue him that office, to whom he anſwered, that he could not, nor ought not, to beſtowe it vpon him: and the Citizen being earneſt to know wherefore he would not giue it him; the Duke anſwered, The great loue which I beare thee, and the good which I wiſh vnto thee, permit not that I giue it thee. But quoth the Citizen, if you loued me, and would me any good, you would giue it me. Wherefore the Duke knowing him to be a diſhoneſt man, ſaid. I will not giue it to thee, becauſe I will not haue thee to be hanged as that other was, ſee then whether I be thy friend or no: and with this anſwere, the importune Citizen withdrew himſelfe from his preſence. The ſame Citizen, not ſatisfied with this deniall, tooke occaſion by reaſon of the death of the Prouoſt of the fields, or skoute maſter, to preſent a petition vnto the Prince, deſiring that office; the Prince which knew him very well, wrote in the foote of his petition in this manner: the man might

A might be the caſe,but the houſe permitteth it not; which hath a bet-
ter grace in Italian : *L'huomo ſarebbe il caſo, ma'la caſa non lo comporta.*
When then a man obtaineth not of the Prince the grace which he
deſireth, let him content himſelfe, or faine to be contented with
his Princes pleaſure, who for ſome occaſion to vs vnknowne, de-
nieth it. For ſhewing our ſelues content, he conceiueth no euill o-
pinion of vs, and may vpon ſome other occaſion be better diſpo-
ſed to yeelde to our deſire, prouided that we degenerate not from
our ſelues, and demaund not ſuch things,as ſhall not be fit and con-
B uenient for vs.

Chap. 82.

That Captaine which leaueth a ſtrong place ill garded to take another,committeth a fault.

C

MAns iudgement is knowne in hard matters, which bring difficultie, as when a man is betweene two extremities, and carrieth himſelfe ſo, that he auoydeth the danger of the one, and acquireth and getteth the good of the other. There are none but men well experienced, and ſuch as oftentimes haue managed difficulties of importance, which are of ſuch iudgement : ſo as he which well eſcapeth out of ſuch diffi-
D culties, may well be held for a man very vertuous, and of much worth : but moſt commonly a man committeth errour, either through too great deſire to get and acquire, or through too great confidence and truſt of that,which is alreadie gotten: and he which ſo much aſſureth himſelfe, that he ſhall not loſe that which he hath gotten, hazarding it to get that which he hath not, may well be ſaid to want iudgement; for firſt a man ought to guarde well,that which he hath in poſſeſſion, and then to aduenture to get that which he hath not, or recouer that which hee hath loſt. This fault is often found in time of warres,when the Armies campe ſometimes here, ſometimes there,and ſometimes getting,and preſentlie loſing what

is gotten, according as the fortune of the warres, and the valour of the Captaines doth permit. And when a Captaine hauing done all that which is requiſite for his degree, and hauing the guard of a ſtrong hold, loſeth it by ſurpriſe, he deſerueth not to be blamed; but when through his negligence and want of prouiſions, he be conſtrained to loſe it, he cannot be excuſed: but he doth worſe, who being in a ſtrong place, either by his Princes commaundement, or his owne free will, which will goe to ſurpriſe another place, and leaue vnfurniſhed, and without men and munition that which he holdeth, by which meanes he loſeth it, a man may well ſay, that he is rightly ſerued, and fortune hath dealt with him iuſt, as he deſerued. *Francis Ferruzzio* was in our time, for the Florentines in the fortreſſe of Empoli, in the time of the warres of Florence. It happened that the Citie of Volterra was taken by the enemies; and for this cauſe the Florentines, prickt forwards with a deſire to recouer it againe, for that that the fortreſſe held ſtill for them; they wrote to *Ferruzzio* that he ſhould attempt to ſurpriſe it, and hauing ſent him a certaine number of Souldiers, and ſet in his place a Captaine which was of no great experience in the warres, made him to leaue Empoli, to goe to recouer Volterra. Wherefore *Ferruzzio* either truſting in the ſtrength of the place, or iudging, that leading ſo many men with him, he ſhould the ſooner effect his enterpriſe, left not Empoli ſufficientlie guarded; whereof the Prince of Orange, being aduertiſed by a Spy, thought with himſelfe that it might be wonne; and ſending thither his forces, with Artillerie he began to batter it, and eaſilie tooke it, which had not happened, if there had been ſufficient garriſon left, or that the Florentines ~~had~~ ſent ſufficient troupes, to haue defended Empoly and recouered Volterra. Let no man then truſt in the ſtrong ſituation of any places, neither in the Fortification thereof: for if there be not men to guarde and defend them, the ſtrongeſt Caſtles and holds in the world are eaſilie taken.

E F G H

CHAP.

A

Chap. 83.

Betweene Enemie and Enemie, courteſies may be vſed without blame of either ſide.

B 

Although that it ſeemeth, that betweene two enemies, nothing but ill can be expected, and that betweene them nothing but hurt and ruine is to be gotten, yet it is a matter not worthie of blame, to vſe courteſie, although the Souldiers of our time vſe to ſay: (which hold it for a lawe) that one enemie is to vſe all the meanes poſſible to bereaue his enemie of his life, and to vſe all cunning and deceit to defeate him and make him away, which is a lawe and cuſtome worthie to haue place among beaſts, rather than among
C men, and principallie in particular affraies, when two challenge the ſingle combate one to one, to ſatiate their euill will, by all kinde of crueltie and rage, enforce themſelues to giue their life and blood vnto their enemie, for the reward and recompence of the victorie, or to receiue his life and blood: and Souldiers now adaies thinking him vnworthie of honour, which vſeth any courteſie to an enemie; which not onely auncient examples, but alſo ſome moderne, ſhew to be falſe: yea euen in Combats fought to the death, it hath been ſeene, that in the heate of the fight, and in the greateſt paine of wounds, the Combattants haue vſed curteſy one to another; where-
D of they were and euer ſhall be praiſed. The Lord *Iohn de Medicis*, a moſt renowned Captaine of his time, and reſtorer of the glorie and ſplendour of the Militarie art in Italie, among his Souldiers had two braue & valiant young men, the one called *Iohn* of *Turin*, and the other *Amy de Benacque*, or as others ſay, *Peter Corſo*: there happened vnkindnes betweene theſe two young men, as it often happeneth betweene Souldiers, which proceeded ſo far forth, that the Lord *Iohn de Medicis* willing to appeaſe it, and to make them friends, it was not in his power to doe it, neither to reconcile them, what perſwaſions and promiſes ſoeuer he vſed, willing that they

A combat betweene two ſouldiers.

ſhould remit the different and matter in queſtion betweene them, E
to him; but they were reſolued to decide and end the quarrell by
Armes. The Lord *Iohn de Medicis* was wroth, and taking one of
their cloakes, he diuided it into two by the middeſt, and gaue to
each one halfe, with a ſword of equall length, and lockt them vp in
a certaine place of his Pallace, and bad them there to ende their
quarrell, in ſuch ſort, that when he ſhould returne, he might find all
qualified. The young men began to vſe their weapons, and to giue
blowes, for they both were couragious and valiant: it happened
that *Amy* receiued a thruſt in the forehead, but little hurt, where-
by neuertheleſſe the blood running downe his face, and into his F
eyes, he was therewith much troubled, ſo as he could not handle
his ſword as he would haue done. To whom *Iohn de Turin* then
ſaid, *Amy* ſtay, reſt thee, and binde vp thy wound; and ſo giuing
backe, he gaue his enemie leaſure to binde vp his wound with a
handkercher, and to reſt himſelfe. Afterwards the fight being be-
gun againe, and vſing their hands very gallantly, *Amy* gaue ſo
great a blow, that he ſmote *Iohn de Turin* his ſword out of his hand;
and therewith ſaid to *Iohn*, ſtay, reſt thee, and take vp thy ſword a-
gaine: and after that they had reſted, they began the third aſſault,
but the other Souldiers which ſtoode to behold the combat, ſeeing G
the great courage and courteſie betweene theſe two men, ran to the
Lord *de Medicis*, reciting vnto him all the ſucceſſe of the combat,
praying him that hee would not ſuffer, that either of them both
ſhould be ſlaine, and ſo their Lord entring into the chamber, found
that through the much blood which they had loſt, they were ſo
weake and faint, that they were both fallen to the ground, and
ſcarcely able to ſpeake: and ſo hauing cauſed them to be taken vp,
and the controuerſie to be referred to him, he made them agree,
and their wounds to be bound vp with all diligence, and they liued
many yeares after the death of their Lord. I would now know H
whether the courteſie, which theſe men ſhewed in the very mid-
deſt and heate of their fight, did deſerue blame or no, for which
occaſion I haue euer found them much eſteemed, and worthie to
be named and mentioned, as men which fought with generoſitie
of heart, and as valiant men, and not as ſauage beaſts, as now adaies
moſt doe, which hold not for their but, and end an honorable victo-
rie, but the blood and life of their enemie, nothing caring that the
world know, whether the courſe which they haue held in killing
him be honourable, or vituperable and worthie of ſhame. And it

were

A were a faire queſtion to be asked and diſputed whether of theſe two vſed the greateſt couteſie, either hee which ſuffered his enemie to binde vp his wound, and ſtop the blood which ran into his eyes and hindred his ſight: or he which ſuffered his enemie to take vp his ſword againe, which was fallen out of his hand. The Lord *Iohn Baptiſta Poſſeuin* produceth another example at the end of the fift booke of his dialogues, of the honour of *Cechino de Padoua,* who fighting at Mantoua, with *Benedict Liberal,* who with a ſtroke with his ſword, brake his aduerſaries ſword: and *Cechino* retiring himſelfe, bad *Benedict* to take another ſword, if he would fight: but B the Duke of Mantoua preſently tooke vp the matter, and brought them to agreement: *Cechino* deſerued great praiſe for this courteſie, who noblie would preuaile by his owne vertue and valour, and not by the fauour of Fortune, and would not kill his enemie being diſarmed or fallen, as moſt men now a daies would doe, and as many in time paſt haue done, who would haue for the prize and reward of their victorie, the blood and life of their enemie, ſlaine by them, in any manner howſoeuer.

Iohn Baptiſta Poſſeuin. lib. 5

A combat betweene Cechino *of Padua, and* Bennet Liberal.

C

Chap. 84.

It is a very dangerous matter to tell Princes of their faults and imperfections, notwithſtanding that at ſometimes it be very neceſſarie ſo to doe.

D FOraſmuch as Princes in their gouernments may ſometimes erre and ſwarue from the right line, which is required in a principalitie, it would do wel freely to tell them wherein they erre, and to ſee if it might be poſſible to bring them to a right and good gouernment: but becauſe it might bee diſpleaſing vnto them, for as much as there is no man that willingly giueth eare to him which doth freely and liberally reprehend him; and they which ſhould vndertake to do it, ſhould (peraduenture) incurre the danger to diſpleaſe the Prince, the euill gouerne-

No man would be too ſeely reprehended.

gouernment would euer proceede, and the abuſes and vices take footing in the eſtate: and here hence it commeth, that Princes doe not amend and correct their faults and offences. And it is not fit that euery man put himſelfe forwards to vſe this reprehenſion, for it is not in euery man to know how to doe it: and therefore he muſt ſo frame his ſpeeches, that the Prince may perceiue no leſſe loue towards him, then a will to diſcouer vnto him his fault, and no leſſe reuerence, then deſire of amendment. Wherein is ſo great difficultie, that he which well conſidereth thereof, may loue better to haue patience, and to leaue the Prince to liue after his owne phantaſie, then by aduertiſing him, to put himſelfe in daunger to diſcontent him, incurre his diſpleaſure, and bring his attempt to an euill end. *Demetrius Phalerius* knew well this difficultie, and for this cauſe when hee would aduertiſe King *Ptolomy* of his faults and errours which he committed, he did not liberally diſcouer them vnto him, but he counſelled him to reade thoſe bookes which did treate of the gouernment of Princes, becauſe that thoſe dead men would tell him thoſe things which liuing men durſt not: ſo as without any ſhame or danger to any, he might know what were conuenient for him to doe, and to auoide the committing of faults in the gouernment of his eſtate.

The ſubtile diſcourſe of Demetrius Phalerius *to king* Ptolomy.

That it is a dangerous matter to tell Princes their imperfections, an infinit number of examples both ancient and moderne do beare record: but this onely ſhall ſuffice which *Matthew Villani* wrote of a King of Spaine, which raigning in the yeere 1358. was extreamely in loue with a yong woman his concubine: for the which he became ſo incenſed, that he would haue all the Cities ſubiect to his Crowne to doe her homage, and ſweare vnto her fealtie; ſo that to ſatisfie her, hee committed things vnworthie of a King, and became to be ſo outragious and cruell, that hee reſpected not with his owne hands to kill ſome of his owne parentage. The gentlemen of Siuill did much marueile at his commaundement, to make them ſweare fealtie to the Kings concubine: and hauing conſulted together, they named twelue gentlemen to goe as Ambaſſadours to the King, and gaue them charge with modeſtie to reproue him of thoſe things which he did, and to aſſay by all ſubmiſſion and humilitie, to withdraw him from that humour to doe homage to his Minion: ſaying, that being bound by oth to the ancient Queene, they could not giue it to any other, except they were firſt abſolued and exempt from their former oth. The Ambaſſadours of Siuill went to the King

Matthew Villani.

A King, and with due reuerence declared vnto him their charge, and amiably reproued him of his fault. The King gaue eare, but no other anſwere, but onely taking his beard in his hand, hē ſaid: By this beard I certifie you, that you haue not well ſpoken: and therewith ſent them away. Few daies after the King went to Siuill, and remembring the reprehenſion which hee receiued by the Ambaſſadors of Siuill, he made them all to be maſſacred in one night within their houſes. And ſo this free reproofe vſed to this King of his imperfections, notwithſtanding that it was with modeſtie & great humilitie, had ſuch end, as ſpeeches ſpoken well to perſons which take
B them ill, vſe to haue, and euer will haue; which is no other thing, then a diſtaſt and diſcontentment, when a man hath meanes & will to ſhew it. A man ought to be circumſpect in dealing with Princes; for although they bee men, and haue imperfections as other men haue, it is not therefore well done to ſpeake ill of them; but they ought to bee reſpected as fathers: it is not lawfull with reprochfull ſpeeches to publiſh their faults and ill doings: for a man thereby bringeth himſelfe in daunger through his liberall ſpeaking againſt his Prince, who by that meane taketh offence, and beginneth to beleeue, that he which is ſo bold to ſpeake ill of him, may alſo vndertake to attempt ſomething againſt him: wherefore if ſuch perſons
C be puniſhed, they can blame none but themſelues. This notwithſtanding, Princes (as men ſubiect to erre) ought to giue eare vnto thoſe which with modeſtie tell them their faults, but afterwards when they ſhall be offended and diſpleaſed with them, or with others which ſtand not in their good grace, being angrie with them vpon any occaſion, meanes failing not to chaſtiſe them, they ought to be aduiſed how they ſpeake in publike of ſuch perſons, for that they are ſometimes vnderſtood without ſpeaking, and euill enſueth: which although that it pleaſe them after that it is done, and that
D they may ſay that they gaue no charge nor commiſſion to doe it; yet that paſſeth not therefore with the honour and reputation of the Prince, in whoſe behalfe and to gaine his fauour, it was committed. Let Princes then take heed how they ſpeake of any in publike, to the end that they giue not occaſion to do ill, to thoſe who to obtaine their fauour, will aduenture to doe any euill.

The crueltie of Iohn king of Spaine.

A man wrongeth himſelfe in ſpeaking ill of his ſuperiours.

A Prince ought to conſider what he ſpeaketh in choler when he ſpeaketh any thing of any particular ſubiect.

E

CHAP. 85.

It is a moſt notable folly to intermeddle with enterpriſes, without conſideration principally in the warres.

AMong the vertues worthie of admiration in a F
Prince, I hold this to be one of the moſt principall, to do all things with ripe iudgement and ſound conſideration. And if in all things it be requiſit, in the warres it is moſt requiſit : and where there is queſtion of moſt great loſſe, or of moſt notable diſgrace, it is very neceſſarie that it be well and ripely weighed and conſidered before it be vndertaken. If a man will make any building, hee firſt conſidereth whether he be able to defray the charge, before he ſetteth hand to the work, and meaſureth his abilitie, and examineth his owne meanes and G
abilitie : he which hath a will to leauie warres againſt another, or in his thought expecteth it at home, for as much as this conſideration ſhall cauſe the one of two things, either that hee knowing himſelfe inferiour and vnable to make long reſiſtance, and beare the charge of the warre, will aſſay to accommodate his affaires, the moſt to his honour and reputation that he ſhall be able; or if he know himſelfe ſufficient and a man to bring it to a good end, hee will begin it and continue the enterpriſe, with ſuch iudgement and diſcretion, that the affaires comming to ſucceed well with him, it will be attributed to his vertue, and hauing ill iſſue, it will be attributed to the malice H
of his fortune.

Herodot. lib. 3 *Cambyſes* King of Perſia hauing a determination to make warres againſt the Macrobians of Æthiopia, who inhabit in the South of the African ſea, before that he would take his iourney for that coaſt with his Armie by land, he ſent certaine Spies into Æthiopia with ſome preſents to the King, as well to diſcouer the ſtrong holds of the country, as alſo to conſider what forces this King had. The Ambaſſadours being arriued before the Æthiopian King, and hauing preſented the gifts ſent by *Cambyſes*, were knowne for Spies : and

hauing

A hauing conſidered to what purpoſe *Cambyſes* ſent them, he ſaid vnto them, that they ſhould make report vnto their King, that hee could not be a iuſt Prince, in deſiring to poſſeſſe another Princes countrie: and hauing ſhewen to them the moſt admirable and moſt curious things of that land, he ſent them back againe to *Cambyſes*. The Ambaſſadours being returned, and hauing made recitall of all the faire and marueilous things which they had ſeene, and alſo of that which the Æthiopian King had ſaid vnto them; *Cambyſes* (who then was in the citie of Hay in Egypt) grew into extreame choler, and ſuddenly without any conſideration, commaunded his Armie to
B march towards Æthiopia: his little wiſedome appeared in this, that he made no prouiſion for victuals, Munition, or other neceſſaries for an enterpriſe of ſo great importance, but as a foole and a mad man, made his Armie to take the way towards Æthiopia, without conſidering either againſt whom, or in what manner of countrie, or in how long a iourney hee put himſelfe, and commaunded a very ſtrong garriſon of Grecians to ſtay there, vntill he (with victorie) returned from Æthiopia. When he came to Thebes, he made choiſe of about 50000. fighting men, which hee ſent into the countrie of the Ammonians, to the end to ſacke and burne the Temple of *Iupi-*
C *ter Hammon*: and he with the reſt of his Armie (ſtill inconſiderate) marched towards Æthiopia. But before he had paſt the fift part of the way, his prouiſions and victuals began to faile him; by reaſon whereof his Armie was conſtrained to eate their horſes and beaſts of carriage: If he had then reſolued to returne, he had done wiſely, for by the diſorder then, hee might haue perceiued his errour. But perſeuering in his follie, and nothing conſidering in what neceſſitie he was, he went ſtill forwards: and the ſouldiers (vnwilling to abandon him) followed him, ſo long as they could finde any hearbes or rootes to feede vpon: but being come to the ſandie places, where
D the earth brought forth no ſuſtenance to ſatisfie their hunger, they deuiſed a moſt cruell thing, which was to tithe themſelues; ſo as hee which by lot was the tenth man, drew and choſe out one to be ſlaine, boyled, and then eaten. *Cambyſes* being aduertiſed of this crueltie, and fearing that his ſouldiers would eate vp one another, turned head, leauing the enterpriſe of Æthiopia, with a great loſſe of his people, and perpetuall diſhononr for his follie. And ſo that enterpriſe had ſuch end, as all ſuch deſperate enterpriſes, full of error and ſhamefull ſucceſſe vſe to haue, and made him to know how great a diſhonour it is to a Prince to begin warres, without prouiding

The anſwere of the King of Æthiopia to the Ambaſſadours of Cambyſes.

The follie and obſtinacie of Cambyſes.

ding for thoſe things which ought to goe before, and to be pru- E
dently conſidered.

CHAP. 86.

Jt more auaileth to prouide according to the aduertiſements and rumours of daungerous accidents, which may happen F
to a Prince or Common-wealth, then to make no account thereof.

BEing in a manner impoſſible, that great prepa-
ration for warre ſhould bee ſo ſecretly made,
but that by ſome meanes or other it may bee
knowne, what perſons and places will be in-
uaded : and being alſo impoſſible, but by
ſome way or meanes, aduice and intelligence
may paſſe to thoſe againſt whom ſuch prepa- G
rations are made, euery man will iudge that
Prince to bee wiſe, and that Common-wealth well aduiſed, which
ſhall giue eare to ſuch aduertiſements, and not neglect them, but
will prouide and bee in a readines in good ſeaſon to defend them-
ſelues, for feare that the Prince being ſurprized vpon a ſudden vn-
prouided, either ſhall want time to make prouiſion, or bee conſtrai-
ned to giue order for his affaires, with ſuch haſte and ſuddennes,
that he ſhall not poſſibly do ought that may be of worth. And there
ought not any truſt be repoſed in the amitie, nor grounded vpon
the farre diſtance of the reſience of him which leuieth warre : for H
he which will offend, ſetteth all reſpects apart, and knòweth how to
finde the meanes to paſſe the difficulties of long waies : whoſoeuer
ſuffereth himſelfe to be otherwiſe perſwaded doth ill ; principally
when there commeth certaine aduertiſement, which ſeemeth to be
carried in the winde, and namely when a man doth vnderſtand of
ſuch an enterpriſe in hand. But for that that the diuerſitie of opi-
nions is more ſeene in priuate Common-wealths, then in the go-
uernments and eſtates of ſoueraigne and abſolute Princes : for in
Senates are ſeene certaine men, which taking an opinion, counſell
ſometime

A ſometime to the hurt of the Common-wealth, thinking that they counſell for the good and profit thereof.

When aduice is giuen (although that it be ſomewhat doubtfull) that warres will be made againſt a Common-wealth, the Senatours ought not to giue eare to thoſe which diſſwade the making of prouiſion and preparation for the warres by any apparant reaſons, perſwading them to haue regard to the charge, and to the difficultie of the enterpriſe; but ought to reſolue to prouide them. For to what purpoſe ſerueth money, if a man haue not time and meanes to em-
B ploy it? and all difficulties may be made eaſie, by him who deſireth to poſſeſſe that which belongeth to another: ſo as when thou thinkeſt thy enemie to be farre off, it will ſeeme that he came flying vpon thee. The Siracuſians of Sicilie had intelligence that the Athenians determined to make warres againſt them, and that they were alreadie diſlodged with a mightie Armie and Nauie vnder ſaile comming towards Sicilia: this aduertiſement came to many places, and *Hermocrates* of Siracuſa being particularly aduertiſed hereof, who, as a man experienced in the affaires of the world, made it knowne to the Senate, and with a graue oration exhorted the Sira-
C cuſians to looke to their affaires, and take order for their defence; notwithſtanding that many were of opinion that it was but an inuention of ſome Captaines which deſired to bee employed. The comming of the Athenians into Sicilie ſeemed to bee impoſſible to many Senatours, and *Athenagoras*, by a diſcourſe, vſing al meanes poſſible to diſſwade the Senate from making any prouiſion and preparation for the warres; affirmed that the report of the Nauall Armie was falſe, and that it could not be that the Athenians ſhould come into Sicilie, and began as it were to blame and reproue thoſe which had ſpread that rumour. Notwithſtanding all this, the wiſe
D Senatours tooke the middle way, for they did not altogether contemne the aduertiſements of *Hermocrates*, neither did they ſhew any ſuch feare, as that they did any thing vnworthie of their grauitie. And ſo it was concluded, to make readie ſufficient and neceſſarie prouiſion, to the end that afterwards they ſhould not neede to bee made vpon a ſudden (if the newes proued to bee true) and if the newes proued not true, it was no great diſcommoditie to their Citie. And it is alwaies better to feare then to neglect. Let no man then deſpiſe the report which is ſpread, neither the newes which a man receiueth of any imminent daunger: for it is better for a man to be noted of feare, then to ſhew himſelfe ill aduiſed and negligent, and

The prudence of the Senate of Syracuſa.

the

the charges and expences which are made to aſſure and ſecure an E
eſtate, cannot be ſaid to be loſt.

CHAP. 87.

Innocencie and a cleere conſcience make a man bold and hardie, and giue him heart and courage to ſhew himſelfe in all F
places and before all perſons.

TRuly *Guicciardins* counſell is both very good and profitable for thoſe which haue cõmitted ſome fault: for counſelling thoſe which haue offended, and wil put themſelues into the hands of the Prince and of the law, hee willeth them firſt to thinke vpon it verie well before hand, and to meaſure their doings: for although that their caſe bee verie G
hard to be diſcouered, yet a man would not deleeue what meanes a wiſe and diligent Iudge may deuiſe to finde out the trueth; and the leaſt ſigne and ſparkle in the world, may manifeſt the whole and bring it to light. Wherfore I cannot chuſe but marueile at the boldnes (I will not ſay raſhnes) of ſome, who either becauſe they had no companions in their actions and offences, or becauſe they perſwade themſelues to continue firme and conſtant, and to make their partie good at the Racke, voluntarily yeeld themſelues to priſon. And although that ſome of their fortunes be to be abſolued and to eſcape, yet a man cannot ſay, but that of a hundred, foure- H
ſcore and tenne are puniſhed: whereof there is ſo much experience euery where, and ſo many examples, that it ſhall not neede to diſcourſe thereof. But when ſome one hath not offended, and is innocent of the fact wherewith he is charged, a man would not beleeue with what conſtancie both of heart and countenance, and with what liuelines of ſpeech and behauiour he ſheweth his innocencie. And I haue knowne ſome Iudges, to whom the examining of criminall caſes hath beene committed, who haue knowne the innocencie of one which hath been accuſed, in hearing him but ſpeake,

and

A and beholding his face onely: whoſe opinion hath been moſt certaine, the truth thereof being afterwards otherwiſe diſcouered. He then which is innocent may freely and boldly ſpeake: and notwithſtanding that their innocencie may be oppreſſed by enuie and malice for a time, yet the truth cannot bee ouercome by fraud and deceit. And ſo, many which haue been innocent of that which hath been imputed vnto them, haue happely come out of their troubles, and haue made knowne to thoſe to whom they haue been accuſed, the malice of their accuſers.

Xenophon with his Armie of Grecians ſerued King *Seutus*, who
B hauing the victorie againſt his enemies, by meanes of the Greekes, gaue them not the pay which he promiſed, but with new excuſes deferred the payment from day to day. Wherfore the Greeke ſouldiers ſeeing that the money came not abroad, doubted that *Xenophon* had receiued it and did not giue it to them: wherefore they began alreadie to ſpeake ill of him in the Armie, which was now readie to mutin and reuolt. *Xenophon* did patiently endure (for certaine daies) the iniurious ſpeeches of the ſouldiers; but one day, as occaſion was offered vnto him (by many liuely reaſons) he ſhewed his innocencie, and that hauing receiued no pay of the King, but
C being defrauded by him, vnder colour and name of a friend, he was to make them to ſee and know, into what error they were fallen: and the more plainly to manifeſt his innocency vnto them, he went with them to the King in perſon, and hauing made vnto him a diſcourſe full of great complaints, and ſhewing himſelfe diſcontented to endure the hearing of things vnworthie his honour, and that his ſouldiers ſhould call him theefe and robber of their pay, he prayed him to make that good vnto him, which he had promiſed. Where-
D fore the King ſeeing that *Xenophon* complained not without iuſt cauſe, paied the ſouldiers, and ſhewed vnto them the innocencie of their Captaine, vſing al meanes to put them out of the euill opinion which they had conceiued of him.

Xenophon giueth his ſouldiers to vnderſtand that he had not robbed them of their pay.

It appeared in our fathers daies, in *Francis Sforce* Duke of Milan, what boldnes his innocencie gaue him, for hauing been accuſed of rebellion, and to haue practiſed againſt the Armie of *Charles* the 5. with *Ieroſme Moron*, and the Marqueſſe of Peſcara, after many alterations the Duke came to Boulogne to the Emperour, who had there receiued the Crowne with his ſafeconduct, and being in the Emperours preſence, he thanked him for his curteſie, in giuing him meanes and leaue to come to ſee him, and afterwards ſaid vnto him, Guicci. lib. 19.

that repoſing his truſt in his iuſtice, for all things happened before the Marqueſſe of Peſcara ſhut him vp in the Caſtle of Milan, hee would haue no other ſecuritie or defence then his owne innocencie: and for as much as hee did appertaine vnto him, he freely renounced his ſecuritie by the ſafeconduct which it had pleaſed his Maieſtie to giue him, which hee threw downe at the Emperours feete; to whom this his doing was ſo pleaſing, that he reſtored vnto him the Dutchie of Milan, as much through this occaſion as any other. Innocencie ſurely is of more force then a thouſand witneſſes, and hee that is therewith accompanied, may ſafely (holding vp his head) goe any where: for an honeſt and innocent man may be ſlandered, but not conuinced; but he that is culpable and hath done amiſſe, although it bee neuer ſo ſecretly, following the precedent counſel and precept, ought to be wel aduiſed, and let him take good heede how he commit himſelfe into the hands of Iuſtice.

Francis Sforce *Duke of Milan renounced the ſafe conduct of the Empe rour* Charles *the fift.*

CHAP. 88.

Euill ſpeeches ought not to prouoke a man to do any thing without iudgement and reaſon, eſpecially in the warres.

TRulie railing and bitter ſpeaking hath great force and power in a generous and noble heart, and vrgeth it ſometimes to doe things with ſmall iudgement and diſcretion: and by this meanes there are ſome, which induced by the railings of their enemies, principallie in the warres, will rather commit all to the hazard of fortune, (to auoide the reproch, which beſides that it is of ſmall continuance, is at length but a vaine thing) then attending the oportunitie of the time, make their aduerſaries know with aſſurance, that they ſpake vnaduiſedly, and auenging themſelues of their euill ſpeeches, to ſhew that they were not moued with the iniurie and reproch, but with good occaſion and reaſon. Wherefore *Fabius Maximus*, and *Marius*, are highly commended by the Hiſtorians, and in our fathers daies *Francis Sforce*, which

A which vſing great diſcretion, and temperance, made no account of other mens euill ſpeeches againſt them: for *Fabius* ſhewed himſelfe to be of ſo firme and conſtant a ſpirit towards him, which ſpake euil of him, with very diſhoneſt and vnſeemly words, that he knew how to endure the iniurie and attend the occaſion to fight, ſaying, that hee accounted him more baſe and cowardly which feared euill words, then him which fled before his enemies, who fled for feare of doings, and he which cannot indure ill ſpeeches and detractions, ſheweth himſelfe afraid of words. *Marius* in like manner, and vpon
B the like occaſion, knew how to remaine firme and conſtant, and by the liuely quicknes of his wit, to ſtop the iniurious ſpeeches of his enemie, who to prouoke him to fight with diſaduantage, ſaid vnto him: If thou be that great Captaine, O *Marius*, which thou art eſteemed to bee, come forth and fight now that thou art defied. To whom *Marius* anſwered and ſaid: If thou be that great Captaine, which thou reputeſt thy ſelfe to be, force me to come forth of my Trenches and to fight. But he attended both time and oportunitie, and fought, and bare away the victorie. *Francis Sforce*, a moſt renowned Captaine in his time, being with his Armie incloſed in a
C certaine place, and hauing to front him *Nicholas Picinino*, his concurrant and emulator, both in warre and in glorie no leſſe eſteemed then he, who warred with *Alfonſo* King of Naples, he ſent to chalenge him the combat, ſaying, that in one battaile their valour would bee knowne, and to whom did iuſtly appertaine the prize of Militarie glorie. *Picinino*, notwithſtanding that hee was wounded, accepted the offer of *Francis Sforce*, and King *Alfonſo* retired with his Armie, more then halfe a league off, to giue place and field roome free, according as he had promiſed, *Picinino* preſented himſelfe armed and in order with his people, at the place appointed for
D the battaile: and hauing attended aboue an houre in vaine, expecting when *Francis Sforce* ſhould come forth of Fano with his people to fight; but he would not come forth, notwithſtanding that he was the firſt that defied his enemie, and prouoked him to fight. And notwithſtanding that *Peter* went euen to the walles of Fano and called him and his people, after the manner as ſouldiers vſe to prouoke their enemies to come forth; yet *Francis*, either knowing ſome diſaduantage, or for that hee would not hazard all his reputation at once, or for ſome other occaſion vnknowne, would not come forth, and cared not for the iniurious railings of the enemies ſouldiers, conſidering that ſuch ſpeeches ſhould not moue a man to

The wittie ſpeech of Marius and Fabius Maximus

Fazio in the 8. booke of the acts of Alfonſo King of Aragon.

doe any thing vnaduiſedly, and againſt reaſon; which ought to be obſerued not onely in the warres, but alſo in all other actions. E

CHAP. 89.

To deſpiſe, backbite, and ſlaunder any Man, breedeth hatred againſt him which vſeth it, who ſeldome eſcapeth vnpuniſhed. F

I Said before that a man ought not through euill ſpeeches to be drawne and prouoked to doe any thing contrarie to iudgement and reaſon, and haue confirmed by examples, all that I haue ſpoken. I ſay now, that to deſpiſe and by euill ſpeaking to blame another man, is a thing very dangerous for him that doth it: and I vphold that they are wiſe and aduiſed, which abſteine as well from threatning, as by words from injuring or wronging the enemie; for threatnings take away no forces, neither doe iniurious ſpeeches diſarme any Man: but both the one and the other may prouoke him, and make him thinke more aduiſedlie how and in what manner he may grieue thee and be reuenged, ſo as a man may rightly ſay, that they are ſo many weapons to ſtrike thy ſelfe. Wherefore as a wiſe Captaine ought not to be prouoked by the ill words and reproches comming from his enemies, to doe any thing againſt reaſon; ſo ought he to forbeare to ſpeake ill himſelfe, and that his Souldiers iniure not the enemie abroade, neither vſe any outragious ſpeeches among themſelues within; for that may prouoke the enemie, and vrge him to ſeeke reuenge, and this may alſo breed a confuſion in an armie. Firſt, we haue an example in *Gabades*, a Captaine of the Perſians, who hauing long time lien at the ſiege of Amade, and being wearie thereof, determined to raiſe the Siege, and began to ſend away his armie. Wherefore the inhabitants of that Citie, being puft vp with pride, for the victorie, came vpon the wals and Ramparts, and ſpake much euill of the enemies, forgetting nothing that might G H offend

A offend them, calling them Cowards and villaines: for which cauſe *Gabades* being very wroth, returned to the ſiege which was ſo hard and ſtreight, and the inhabitants were ſo cloſely followed, that he ouercame them by force, ſacked their Citie, and in this manner taught them how to ſpeake well. The ſame happened to the Veientes, when as they came euen to the very Ports, Ramparts, and Trenches of the Romanes, they vſed many iniurious ſpeeches: wherewith the Souldiers being moued and much offended, prayed and enforced the Conſuls and Commaunders, to giue battaile, and therein ouercame them, and by this ouerthrow they cau-
B ſed the Veientes to beare the puniſhment of their licencious audacity. Wiſe Captaines ought not to permit Souldiers to outrage one another in words among themſelues, reprouing and caſting one another in the teeth, with diſhoneſt vituperable facts: they which prouide not for this inconuenience, put themſelues in ſome danger. Wherefore *Valerius Coruinus*, and *Tiberius Gracchus* are greatly praiſed and eſteemed, the one for hauing impoſed a grieuous penaltie vpon whoſoeuer ſhould reproach certaine ſeditious Souldiers, with a mutinie happened at Padua: the other for hauing forbidden vpon paine of death, to reproach certaine ſlaues with ſeruiC tude which the Romanes had armed to fight againſt *Hannibal* in time of neceſſitie, wherein they did very wiſely: for there is nothing that more grieueth and troubleth a mans minde, than to be reproched with ſome ſhamefull matter and worthie of blame.

Lawes ordained by Valerius Coruinus, *and* Tiberius Gracchus.

E

Chap. 90.

Princes ought to puniſh backbiters and ſlaunderers, and in no caſe to endure them.

I Remember, that I haue ſaid elſewhere, that to F ſpeake ill of Princes in publike, is a very dangerous matter; which a man ought not to doe, ſeeing that Princes are to be reſpected as Fathers. I ſay now that Princes ought to puniſh euill ſpeakers, either in word or writing, and principallie thoſe which make profeſſion thereof, who hauing a quicke ſpirite and good wit, doe wrong to God and nature, for the good gifts and graces receiued, miſpending that golde and treaſure, which is giuen them: for which cauſe they deſerue to be reproued, not onely in words, but puniſhed in deede, wherefore I doe honour, and G euer will doe, thoſe Princes which put from about their eares, that kinde of people, and which ſhall repreſſe with taunts and checks, the biting tongues of thoſe ouer liberall and raſh euill ſpeakers.

Foure things principally to be held inuiolable.

There be many things which Princes with all their power ought to preſerue and maintaine whole and intire, but principally foure, which repreſſe euill ſpeeches, to wit, the dignitie of degree, the reputation, the life & the friends. The Prince which doth not puniſh ſlaunderers and euill ſpeakers, hazardeth his reputation: for ſo ſoone as men heare the Prince ill ſpoken of, and ſee that he regardeth it not, they beleeue that that which was written or ſpoken of H him was true, and in this manner he is ill thought of, little reſpected, and in the end contemned: and contempt is the poyſon and ruine of all eſtates, for there can be no worſe or viler thing, than the contempt of a Prince by his Subiects: he loſeth his good name in ſuffering thoſe which backbite and ſlaunder him, either in word or writing; for ſpeeches and writings paſſing euery where abroad, cauſe the Prince to loſe the reputation which he had gotten with other Princes and forreine eſtates, of continencie, wiſdome, and iuſtice, by hearing the euill tongued to publiſh euery where his incontinencie,

A continencie, vanitie and iniuſtice, and that he cannot or will not correct thoſe which by ſlaunderous reports publiſh his vices and imperfections. He putteth alſo his life in danger; for to ſpeake ill, is to doe wrong or an iniurie, and he which endureth one iniurie from a man, emboldeneth him to doe him another which ſhall be greater, and afterwards another yet greater; ſo as hee which hath been ſo audacious as to iniure and wrong his Prince by words, ſeeing that the iniurie is ſwallowed and endured, will afterwards make no great difficultie, to wrong and offend him by way of deedes, and thence proceede conſpiracies and practiſes againſt him,
B reputing him for a weake Prince, and of ſmall courage. He alſo loſeth his friends, whereof a Prince ought to make account; for his friends, ſeeing that he maketh no reckoning of the iniuries done to his perſon; inferre thereof, that he will care yet much leſſe, for thoſe iniuries, which ſhall be done vnto them; and in this manner, the loue and affection which they bare vnto him, commeth to waxe colde, and to be wholy extinct. It is true, that a Prince muſt conſider when he taketh knowledge of euill ſpeakers, of what condition they are, and puniſh them lightly or ſharpely, according as he ſhall finde their effect and inclination; and giuing them neuer-
C theleſſe ſomething for a remembrance: and if they be light fore- *A Prince ought to conſider of the qualitie of euill ſpeeches.*
headed and fooliſh, to vſe them like fooles and hayrebrained; but if they be malitious, to puniſh them publikely for example, to teach others thereby, the better to rule their tongues. *Dionyſius* of Siracuſa the elder, was aduertiſed of two young men, which at a ſupper vſed many iniurious ſpeeches of him, and ſpoke much euill of his gouernment; wherefore he inuited them both one night to ſuppe with him, to ſee and know the qualitie of thoſe young men, and of what naturall inclination they were, and finding that the one was a bibber, and that the wine made him prate, and that the other dranke
D little, and ſpake leſſe, he let the one goe for a drunkard and a foole, and put the other to death, as ſubtill and malitious: for a man (which through lightnes ſpeaketh amiſſe) is eaſilie knowne from another which raileth and ſpeaketh ill of malice. Pope *Pius* the fourth, a man in our time whoſe good and vertuous life was ſuch, as the world knoweth, yet could he not auoide euill ſpeeches and blame; for at the beginning of his Papacie, there was a diffamatorie libell againſt him, faſtened and ſet vpon *Paſquin*, as in that time the abuſe at Rome then was, to ſpeake ill in this manner, and to raile againſt the liues of all the Princes in Chriſtendome. The Au-

thor of this libell was found out, and knowne to be a Doctor of the E
Ciuill Lawes, a young man of an excellent wit, who was caſt into
priſon, and there remained for certaine dayes. The Pope comman-
ded him to be brought before him, and then askt him if he had e-
uer in his life receiued any diſpleaſure at his hands: and as the Doc-
tor anſwered no, the Pope asked him againe, wherefore then he
had ſpoken ſo much euill of him? And the Doctor trembling with
feare, could yeeld no other reaſon, but that it was his lightnes: af-
ter that the Pope had very grauely and fatherly reproued him, he
bad him goe home to his houſe, and applie himſelfe to ſome other
thing, and that he ſhould imploy in vertuous and good deedes, that F
wit and ſpirit which God had giuen him, to the end that he had no
occaſion to make him know how ill it be fitted him to ſpeake ill of
his ſuperiours. This man went home to his houſe, and was as an
Ambaſſadour to all the reſt which were woont, and had a deſire to
make ſuch libels, ſo as they all were ſtill and quiet, and on S. *Marks*
day, when earlie in the morning the proceſſion paſt before *Paſquin*,
which is a ſtatue of Marble without armes, where before that day, a
man ſhould haue ſeene nothing but rithmes and verſes, written to
the ſlaunders and reproach of Princes and Prelates, but then there
was an Arme made vnto that ſtatue, which held one finger vpon G
his mouth, as who would depaint ſilence, ſaying as it were in ſecret,
that euery man was ſtill and ſpake not a word: and ſo the Pope, by
this little and friendly puniſhment, corrected the lightnes of the
Doctor, and threatned the other euill ſpeakers if they tooke not
heed, to rule their tongues. Afterwards in the later yeares of the
ſame Pope, *Nicholas Franco* fell into his hands, who in all his life,
had profeſſed nothing elſe but diſhoneſt, malicious and ſhameleſſe
railing; who after he had lien certaine moneths in priſon, was han-
ged for his tongue and euill ſpeaking, ſignified by a writing which
he ware about his necke, wherein were theſe words which followe: H
For ſpeaking and writing ill of Princes and his ſuperiours. And
truly his euill tongue did deſerue no other death. Let Princes diſ-
peſter and free themſelues from ſuch mouthy ill ſpeakers and back-
biters, and by no meanes ſuffer them; and although that ſome haue
ſaid, that Princes reape ſome profit by thoſe which ſpeake ill of
them; they may bee aſſured that the hurt which enſueth by ſuffe-
ring them is farre greater: and let him which hath a good witte,
and learning, employ it in vertuous workes, for as it is a certaine
kinde of vnhappineſſe and misfortune, for a notable, comelie,
and

Nicholas Franco was hanged at Rome for rayling.

A and gallant young man to be enamoured with an infamous and common ſtrumpet; ſo is it a kinde of miſerie to a gentle and good wit, to be addicted to euill ſpeaking and railing at others, be they little or great. *A compariſon.*

CHAP. 91.

B *An innocent man accuſed of ſome great crime, ought not to put his innocencie to be tried by vncertaine prooſes, for it may happen otherwiſe then he expected.*

C I Said here before, that the innocencie of a man accuſed, of ſome great crime, is of great efficacie and worth, and maketh a man bold to come into any place, and to preſent himſelfe, without feare to appeare before anie man: but this is ſoundly to be vnderſtood, for feare that his innocencie ſometimes make him raſh and vnaduiſed: for ſometimes a man is inraged and extreamely diſcontent, to heare himſelfe accuſed and blamed of a matter which he neuer did, ſo as he would willingly doe any thing to eaſe his heart of this griefe: and to manifeſt his innocencie hee would put himſelfe into any daunger. Wherefore a man ought to conſider many things, when he feeleth himſelfe wrongfully diffamed: for hee ought to conſider who it is
D that hath ſlandered him; if he be a man of an euill qualitie, and baſe condition, and reputed for a lier and a backbiter, then he ought not to regard it, for his malice will diſcouer it ſelfe, and he which hath miſſpoken and vſed euill ſpeeches, ſhall remaine toucht therewith in his reputation, and hee to the contrarie whoſe credit and eſtimation he would haue ſtained and obſcured, ſhall be the more honoured and eſteemed. Secondly, hee ought to conſider, if (of the blame and accuſation laid wrongfully to his charge) hee ſhall be tried and iuſtified by iuſt and indifferent perſons, or ſuch as are rigorous, rude, cruell, and paſſionate. If hee haue to deale with honeſt men

and

and of good conſcience, let him freely enter into any place to cleere E
himſelfe: for if the Iudge will not bee corrupted by reaſon of his ſinceritie and goodnes, although that he ſhall ſuffer for a time; yet at length, with his honour, and proofe of his innocencie, he ſhall be deliuered: for God helpeth the iuſt, and aſſiſteth him which is wrongfully accuſed. But if thoſe (by which thou art to be tried) be wicked, malitious, and eaſie to bee wonne and corrupted, put not thy ſelfe into their hands, but flye (if thou canſt) to auoide their iudgement: for it were better that a man by flight ſhould bee held in ſome ſuſpition of the fault imputed vnto him, then that he ſhould put himſelfe into the hands of a beaſt, who by his rude brutalitie F
may bring him to an euill and vnworthie end, and to ſatisfie either his owne or another mans rage, may vſe a man miſerably: for in attending and giuing time, to time, the truth commeth to be knowne, and in the end innocencie will manifeſt it ſelfe, euen of it ſelfe. Let him finally beware to ſtand to bee tried vpon vncertaine proofes and meanes which may come, or not come, to effect: for that might well bee attributed to raſhnes, as hee alſo might well be called raſh, who by ſuch manner proofes would binde himſelfe to manifeſt that which hee ſaith to bee true, although that it were moſt falſe and malitiouſly forged: let him then (I ſay) that is accuſed G
ſtand ſo on his guard, that hee ſuffer not himſelfe to bee brought to make ſuch proofes and experiences; as to vndertake the combat, ſeeing that by the combat a man cannot come to the knowledge of the trueth, but may remaine diſhonoured, being neuertheleſſe moſt innocent and wrongfully accuſed. And to the end that it may be the better vnderſtood, I will propound this example happened in the citie of Spoletta. There was in that Citie a yong man, who was robbed of a good ſumme of money, and imagining and firmely beleeuing that another young man had robbed him, began to accuſe him and call him theefe: and becauſe he could not make H
proofe of his ſpeeches, he ſpread a report abroad that he would iuſtifie it with his ſword in his hand (ſeeing that there was no other meane) that hee had robbed him, and that that which he ſaid was true. The young man accuſed of the theft, and innocent of the fact, was aduertiſed of what the other reported of him, and how that hee auouched that hee would prooue it vpon him with his ſword, that hee was a theefe; beeing mooued with deſpite and with the intereſt and preiudice of his honour and reputation, hee accepted, to prooue his innocencie (which hee held for moſt certaine

A certaine in his owne conſcience) with his ſword in his hand, which was an vncertaine meane to make triall, wherein a man might as ſoone loſe as win. Wherefore they came to blowes in their ſhirts, with their rapiers and poyniards in their hands; and in this combat the innocent man was ſlaine and diſhonoured, and the accuſer remaining victorious, was held to haue ſaid the truth. Some ſpace after the trueth of the matter was diſcouered, and the theefe was found: ſo as it was knowne and did appeare, that that man tooke a raſh and an vnaduiſed reſolution, who would ſhew his innocencie by the triall of a combat: for in ſuch fights and combats is found
B neither reaſon nor iudgement, ſeeing that choler, valour, fortune and wit, haue therein the rule. And I ſay that *Arioſto* (if it be lawfull to mixe graue matters with fables) hath very elegantly depainted this furious and raſh iudgement in the perſon of *Mandricard*, when hee vniuſtly accuſeth King *Gradaſſe* to haue ſtolen *Rolands* ſword. Wherefore let euery man be well aduiſed, how he too raſhly put himſelfe vpon vncertaine proofes, where hee may as well receiue diſhonour, as diſcharge of the crime imputed vnto him. For although that in his owne conſcience hee be cleere and innocent, yet with ſome men hee cannot eſcape without a blot, who may be-
C leeue what they liſt, and as their phantaſie leadeth them.

CHAP.

E

CHAP. 92.

Inward familiars, and Secretaries of Princes may commit many errors, by meanes whereof they are in danger to loſe their fauour, or their owne liues.

F

THe great familiaritie and fauour of Princes, in apparance, is much eſteemed and deſired: but whoſoeuer ſhall ripely conſider it, ſhall finde that it is a golden ſhackle, and a bitter ſweete, for it is conioyned with ſo many diſcommodities and daungers, that moſt commonly a ſimple ſeruitour and ordinarie Courtier hath better daies and greater libertie, then hee which with the Prince is moſt familiar. The diſcommodities which ſuch men finde are very many: for thoſe being inſufficient, which the wearieſome life and miſerable ſeruitude of the Court bring with G them, they muſt alſo experiment thoſe, which they (by conſtraint) muſt beare, for the contentment and ſecret pleaſure or fantaſie of their Maſters. From hence proceed their long watchings, their ſudden iourneyes and voyages, their broken ſleepes, the execution of affaires of importance, and ſometime little for honeſt credit: and finally a man may call them rather honourable parraſites, then vertuous gentlemen. Afterwards they thruſt themſelues into infinit dangers, principally when they become ſo familiar, that their Princes impart vnto them the ſecrets of their thoughts, for that the leaſt ſuſpition, notwithſtanding that it bee vaine and imagined, a ſigne, a H diſcourſe, yea euen the leaſt word, may ſuffice to ſuppreſſe & bring them wholy to ruine. For this cauſe I cannot but much commend the reſolution of the Poet *Philippides*, who being demaunded by King *Lyſimachus* what great fauour hee might doe him to let him know how much he loued him, who anſwered: That you neuer impart vnto me any of your ſecrets. But when that fortune hath aduanced them ſo farre forwards, that they haue purchaſed their Lords fauour, I ſay, that I finde it expedient that they conſerue and keepe it, and that they be moſt vigilant, and take heed, that the ouer great

The wittie anſwere of the Poet Philippides *to king* Lyſimachus.

A great familiaritie cauſe not contempt in them of the honor and profit of the Prince, for as much as it would violate the faith which the Prince repoſeth in his ſeruant and familiar, which were a meane (to no purpoſe) to put their life in daunger: and how much the more ſuch familiars haue honourable places and charges in Court, by ſo much the more they ought to be aduiſed: for beſides their paines, which are moſt wearíſome and tedious, they are alſo the firſt tormented, and the firſt ſuſpected, and ſometimes their owne Maſters put them to death, for the doubt they haue of their fidelitie. As it
B happened vnto *Garcia Nicoſio*, Secretarie to *Alaim Sicilian*, Lord of Ficaire, in the time of *Peter* of Arragon King of Sicilie: for King *Peter* being called into Sicilie by the Sicilian Lords and Barons, and King *Charles* being driuen out, they repenting afterwards to haue called him, by reaſon of his proſperitie againſt King *Charles*, conſpired againſt him; and amongſt the reſt of the Lords was this *Alaim*, who made his Secretarie to write certaine letters to K. *Charles*, promiſing to render Sicilia into his hands, if hee would ſend him twelue galleyes. Theſe letters were intercepted and deliuered vnto King *Peter*. Wherefore *Alaim* fearing that his Secretarie would
C reueale the conſpiracie, hee ſlew him, and threw his head into the ſea, and buried the bodie in his houſe. I ſaid here before, that ſuch perſons ought principally to be carefull and aduiſed, that the ouer great familiaritie and fauour which they haue with their Princes, breede not in them a contempt of their Lord, ſo as they make no very great account to offend him in theſe foure things, whereof a Prince is commonly very iealous, which are, his eſtate, his honour, his life, and his loue, for this is a moſt notable fault: into the which, in the yeere 1566. fell a gentleman of Peruſa, (which I name not) being one of the moſt priuate of the chamber of one of the moſt
D noble Princes of Italie, which for honors ſake I likewiſe name not. This man being ſo familiar and fauoured of his Prince, that hee could not imagine any greater ſecuritie or libertie, then that which he had with the ſaid Prince, after he had ſerued him thirtie yeeres, in which time he obtained of him many fauours, much goods, and great reuenewes, he was one day called by him; and although that he was ſeene to goe into his Princes chamber, hee was neuer ſeene to come forth againe, neither aliue nor dead, and it was held for certaine, that the Prince put him to death either with his owne hands, or by ſome other his familiar, not for any conſpiracie againſt his perſon, or eſtate, but for that there was an opinion held, and this

Garſia Nicoſio, *ſlaine by his Lord vpon ſuſpition.*

gentleman was ſuſpected to haue grieuouſlie offended the Prince E
in honour, concerning ſome women in the Court; and if this
Prince neuer in all his life committed other fault, by the teſtimonie
of all Chriſtendome, ſpeaking with humanitie a man might ſay,
that this fact was by him executed vpon moſt iuſt occaſion.

CHAP. 93. F

It is both honourable and profitable to a Captaine, ſometime to yeeld to the deſire of his Souldiers, thereby to holde and maintaine himſelfe in their loue and friendſhip.

THe chiefeſt care that a Captaine ought to haue concerning his Souldiers is, to make himſelfe beloued among them, and to keepe and continue himſelfe in their loue and friendſhip: and although that at ſometime it bee neceſſarie to vſe G
ſeueritie in puniſhing their faults, and to obſerue and maintaine Diſcipline, and keepe them in obedience; the good-will and affection towards him, will take place, notwithſtanding: for in puniſhing vice, he ſeemeth to eſteeme and make account of vertue. A Captaine doth alſo aſſure vnto him the loue and good will of his Souldiers, when hee ſeemeth to regard them, and will not ſtand ſo obſtinately in his opinion, that hee will not graunt them any thing that they ſhall deſire, and principallie when hee is intreated by them for ſome thing, which he may graunt with his honour, and to their contentment; for in doing the contrarie, the Souldiers H
conceiue an indignation in their hearts againſt him, and after that euill will beginneth to growe betweene them and their Captaine, it will be hard to effect any enterpriſe of worth: and although that for ſome reſpects they doe not kill him, they will not therefore forbeare to ſhew their diſcontentment when occaſion ſhall be offered. A man would not beleeue how profitable it is to a Captaine, to yeeld to the iuſt deſires of his Souldiers, and ſometime to ſhew that he eſteemeth and reſpecteth them: and how much to the contrarie he wrongeth himſelfe by being obſtinate, and to deny and reiect

A that by their lightnes and naturall inconſtancie, they will do by him as they did by the firſt, ſtanding on his guarde, and being alwaies in doubt, it behooueth him to be as carefull in keeping himſelfe from his owne people, as from his enemies. *Iacques Caldor* in his time was a valiant Captaine, as *Bertelmew Fazio* writeth in the acts and ieſts of *Alfonſo* King of Naples, a man of ſpirit, learned, and endowed with many good parts, fit to make him beloued of ſouldiers and men of warre: but by reaſon of his lightnes and inconſtancie, hee was not ſo eſteemed as his other qualities were worthie of: which might in his time haue made him very honourable, if they had bin

Iacques Caldor *noted of inconſtancie.*

B accompanied with prudence and good gouernment; for it is a fault in any man to be inconſtant. *Anthony Caldor* his ſonne, who after the death of his father, tooke vpon him the charge and leading of his fathers troupes, was likewiſe ſtained with the ſame ſpot, whereof being firſt ſuſpected by *Rene* Duke of Aniou, hee was caſt in priſon, and afterwards comming to the ſeruice of *Alfonſo* of Arragon his enemie, he was likewiſe held by him for inconſtant and of ſmall truſt: wherefore this poore *Anthony*, ſeeing himſelfe in diſgrace with both the one and other Prince, was conſtrained to giue his ſonne vnto *Alfonſo*, in pawne of his faith. But ſome ſpace after, ha-

C uing forſaken *Alfonſo*, and being againe returned to follow Duke *Rene*, prouoked thereto by his owne ficklenes and inconſtancie of ſpirit, was ouercome in a battaile, and taken priſoner by King *Alfonſo*: which will euer happen vnto ſuch Captaines which ſerue Princes, and are ſo inconſtant, that they know not how to continue in the fauour and good grace of one Maſter, but to their ſhame and diſhonour ſhew themſelues deſirous of change and nouelties. But this is not to bee vnderſtood of thoſe, which in that they are free, hauing ſerued one Prince in the warres, and giuing vp their charge and commiſsion, may ſerue any other whom they liſt; neither of

D thoſe, which induced by ſome iuſt diſcontentment, through wrong and iniurie vniuſtly done vnto them, or conſtrained by vrgent neceſſitie, to preſerue either their libertie or their eſtate, are conſtrained againſt their wils to follow and ſerue him, whom they would not: but I ſpeake of thoſe which of their owne fickle lightnes and inconſtancie, which after the manner of frogges leape now here, now there, and ſometimes vpon the very point to haue performed ſome honourable enterpriſe (to no purpoſe and without any occaſion) take pleaſure to hinder a victorie, and to ſee diſorder and confuſion; and are glad to ſee him come to ruine and decay, who hath

giuen them pay & maintenance, and repoſing much truſt in them, hath vſed them with more honour then they deſerued. Of ſuch kinde of men, many examples might be alleaged, which for breuitie I will ouer-paſſe, only this of *Peter Brunor* ſhall ſuffice, according as *Bartelmew Fazio* in the acts of *Alfonſo* King of Naples writeth: which *Brunor* hauing bin a great friend to *Francis Sforce*, and much honoured by him; inticed either by the faire promiſes of King *Alfonſo*, or induced through ſome diſpleaſure, which could be neither reaſonable, nor very great, euen in his greateſt need he forſook him, and went to ſerue the King with 800. horſe: and this his departure put *Francis Sforce* to ſuch trouble & ſo out of order, that his affaires went euer after from ill to worſe, ſo as of force hee muſt render and yeeld himſelf vnto the mercie of the Duke of Milan, being his enemie; although that he were his father in law. And to the contrarie, the Lord *Iohn Anthony Orſin*, Prince of Tarent, worthily deſerued eternall praiſe, and to be eſteemed and reputed for a rare example of firme conſtancie of heart; who in the beginning fauoured and took part with *Alfonſo* King of Naples, againſt Queene *Ioan*, and againſt *Rene* of Aniou, and could neuer after, neither for loſſe of battailes, impriſonment of his owne perſon, or for any other ſtrange accident that happened vnto him whatſoeuer, be induced to forſake King *Alfonſo* ſo long as hee liued, but continued firme and ſtedfaſt in his friendſhip. And although that afterwards (vpon ſome occaſion) he would not follow the friendſhip of *Ferdinand* his ſonne, hee deſerued not therefore to be condemned of inconſtancie, ſeeing that he was not bound to perſiſt and continue in the friendſhip of another man, notwithſtanding that he were a dependant and ſucceſſour of his deceaſed friend.

Bartel. Fazio lib. 8.

Peter Brunor *betraied* Francis Sforce.

The conſtancie of Iohn Anthony Orſin *Prince of Otranto.*

E F G

CHAP.

A

CHAP. 95.

A Generall or Commaunder in chiefe, ought not to be touched in his honour and reputation by thoſe which made choiſe of him, and principally during the time that he is in Armes.

B IT is a cuſtome among all Princes, hauing occaſion to chuſe a Generall, either of their owne ſubiects or ſome ſtranger, to make choiſe of ſome honourable perſonage and of good renowne. After that hee is choſen and that hee hath the gouernment and charge of the Armies, it is neither ſecure nor conuenient, to touch him in honour, either in word or deede, as (with diſgrace) to take his charge from him, or by iniurious ſpeeches to withdraw him from his enterpriſes, or to charge him to doe C ſome diſhoneſt thing, and ſuch like; for therein a noble heart aſpiring to honour and glorie, is ſtirred vp and inflamed with deſpite and diſcontentment: ſo as ſeeing himſelfe touched in honor, he frameth himſelfe by all meanes to take reuenge. *Narſes* an eunuch (to confirme my ſaying with an ancient example) was Generall of the Emperor *Iuſtine* his Armie in Italie, & performed for the Empire diuers & ſundrie worthy enterpriſes: and while as he was armed, and euen vpon the point of his victories, *Iuſtine* depoſed him from his charge and gouernment of the imperiall Armie; and the Empreſſe added thereto certaine iniurious ſpeeches, and ſent him word that D he ſhould returne to keepe her women companie and ſpin. *Narſes* made anſwere, that hee would ſpin her ſuch a thread, which after that it were twiſted, ſhe ſhould in long time not vnwinde it. And by his wit and valour, hauing called the Lombards into Italie, hee was the occaſion why the Emperour of the Eaſt, loſt all that which hee poſſeſſed in the Weſt.

Narſes wroth with the Emperour of Conſtantinople.

A man may alſo for example bring in the fault which the Florentines committed in the time that Pope *Clement* the 7. made wars againſt them, which was this: They choſe *Malateſta Baglioni* for their General, and put themſelues in armes for their defence againſt Guicci. lib. 20.

the Popes and the Emperours Armies: and hauing ſuſtained and E
valiantly endured the ſiege for the ſpace of eleuen moneths, and hauing conſumed their victuals, and being no longer able to make reſiſtance, all aide and ſuccours failing them, their Generall and the Lord *Stephen Columna*, aduiſed them to ſee if they could come to ſome agreement with the Emperour and the Pope, by ſome good compoſition. But *Raphael Girolami*, which was Standerd-bearer, with many other citizens of his faction, being moued againſt *Malateſta*, without conſideration of the daunger wherein the citie was, and that the Generall was armed, and had a good corps de guard of ſouldiers, Peruſins, and other Nations at his ſeruice and commaun- F
dement; they ſent *Andrew Nicolini*, and *Francis Zati* as Ambaſſadours to *Malateſta*, to diſcharge him, and to depriue him of his authoritie and charge of Generall; which was concluded in their Common councell. *Malateſta* was very angrie, and ſetting hand to his poyniard, fell vpon *Nicolini*, and once ſtabd him, and would haue ſlaine him, but for thoſe which ſtood by, who prayed him to hold his hands. Hereupon the Citie mutined, and euery man betooke him to his weapons. Wherefore *Malateſta* fearing ſome great hurlie burlie, preſently ſent the Captaine *Margute* of Peruſa, to ſeize on the port of S. Peter Gatolini, which is the gate towards Rome, G
and gaue him charge to prime the Ordnance, and to bend it againſt the Citie, to be able to defend himſelfe againſt the Citizens, if peraduenture they ſought to offend him, and cauſed to come to him all the ſouldiers ſtrangers which he had in Florence. If the enemie at that time had giuen aſſault vnto the Citie, being then diſunited from their Generall, it might eaſily haue been taken and ſackt, as well by thoſe which were within, as by thoſe which were without, both which at one inſtant would haue been become enemies. And ſo through the little wit and ſmall diſcretion of the Magiſtrates, the ſafetie of their Citie and countrie was ſet (as a man might ſay) vpon H
the point of a needle. Generals then and Colonels are not to bee grieued and touched in honour; and it were much better to reſolue to puniſh them, when they commit any notable faults, (as many Potentates haue done) then by interreſſing their honors, to hazard the affaires and enterprizes in queſtion, as may bee well perceiued by the two examples aboue alleaged.

A dangerous tumult happened in Florence.

CHAP.

A now at this preſent, ſome man would interpoſe himſelfe by ſome honeſt and reaſonable conditions, to accord & pacifie the troubles in Flaunders, finding meanes that religion might haue libertie, and the Prince his authoritie, and the Eſtates aſſurance and ſome ſatisfaction, I doe beleeue that hee might eaſily appeaſe thoſe warres and controuerſies, which haue indured alreadie ſo many yeeres, with ſo great preiudice to the Chriſtian faith, charge and expence of money, and ſhedding of ſo much humane blood.

B

CHAP. 97.

He which goeth into a forraine Countrie with charge of importance, ought to frame himſelfe according to the faſhions of that Countrey wherein he is, for to liue after the manner of his owne countrey, it is not euery where ſecure.

C

AMong all the faire conditions and qualities which ought to bee in a Gentleman, well borne, who is to bee employed in publique affaires, in my opinion, the one of the moſt principall is, for a man to knowe how to accommodate and frame himſelfe according to the faſhion of thoſe Countries whither hee goeth; whether it be vpon his owne pleaſure, or ſome other bodies. And this is it, why many as well Ambaſſa-
D dours as Captaines, haue effected great matters, about which they haue been ſent by their Maſters: which is not happened vnto them onely ſo much, for knowing the Princes humour, with whom they had to negotiate, as to be framed and fitted to the faſhions and manners of the Court and Countrey where they are: and thoſe which haue done otherwiſe, haue been deceiued, and moſt commonly haue borne loſſe, dammage, and ſhame: for the likenes of faſhions and manners in behauiour, is a thing very fit to breede good will, and procure friendſhip: but that muſt not be done in flatterie and adulation, which is preſently knowne and diſcouered: but to ſhew that a man doth not abhorre or loath the Countrey faſhions

ſhions where he is, as euill; or deſpiſe them as vicious; but ſo obſer- E
ueth them, as ſeeming good vnto him, which is a meane fit to make him to be beloued and reſpected by that Countrey people: for this cauſe *Alcibiades* the Athenian was highly praiſed, for in what place ſoeuer he came, either by his apparell, or his manner of life and conuerſation, he accommodated and framed himſelfe to the cuſtome and faſhions of the Country where he was, whereby he wan the hearts as well of the Princes, as of the common people, with whom hee had to deale, and brought whatſoeuer hee vndertooke, to a good and happie ſucceſſe: for when he was at Athens, F
he applied himſelfe to pleaſant and wittie diſcourſes, and often laughed and icſted with ſuch ſubtilties, he bred moſt faire horſes, and in briefe, lead a merrie life, after the cuſtome of Athens. When he was in Lacedemonia, he ſhaued his head and his beard, ware a long cloake, and waſht himſelfe in freſh water. When hee was in Thracia, he was euer readie to fight and to drinke: and being at Tiſapherne, he liued deliciouſly in pompe and pleaſure, and for this cauſe he was euery where well beloued.

Alcibiades *an Athenian, beloued of ſtrangers.*

When *Hippolito de Medicis* was ſent by Pope *Clement* the ſeuenth, Ambaſſadour for his Holines into the warres of Hungarie, againſt the Turkes, he was much beloued by thoſe of the Countrey; be- G
cauſe that ſometimes he apparelled himſelfe after their faſhion, and conformed himſelfe vnto their other manners: which acquired vnto him the loue and fauour of that nation. But becauſe that in euery Countrey there be both good and euill faſhions, I ſpeake of thoſe which generally are held for good; for I meane not that it is well done for a man to faſhion himſelfe to certaine particular vices, principallie in a publike perſon, if it bee not in ſecret, among equals; which alſo ſhould not be peraduenture tollerable; as for example, although that in Germanie it bee a common cuſtome to drinke ſo much till ſome be drunken, which is a vice; but tollerable by that H
nation, accuſtomed to wine, which will bee no way beſeeming or conuenient for an Italian Ambaſſadour, or of another nation, neither for euery graue man to doe the like; for although that he be reputed (according to the by-word) a good companion among thoſe which are giuen to this vice, he ſhall be therefore neither praiſed nor eſteemed by men of iudgement; and the Germane Lords, as wiſe and aduiſed, know well how hurtfull drunkennes is in a man, to whom are giuen Commiſſions and charges of ſecret affaires, and of importance. Wherefore a graue man may make himſelfe

Hippolito de Medicis *was much fauoured of the Hungars.*

A ſelfe to be well beloued, without giuing himſelfe to ſuch manners, which leane vnto vice, in modeſtly auoiding thē by his grauitie, and without blaming of them openly as euill: from hence it grew, that *Ageſilaus* and *Epaminondas*, in retaining their particular nourtur and behauiour, although that they frequented many nations of diuers manners and faſhions, were neuertheleſſe beloued euery where, ſhewing themſelues in their apparell, diet, ſpeech, grace and bringing vp worthy themſelues. And *Plato* was no other at Syracuſa, then he was wont to bee at Athens, and with *Dion* and *Dionyſius* hee was the ſame. It importeth much to know the manners and faſhions of
B a nation, which among them are generally accounted and taken for good, and to aſſay and practiſe to conforme himſelfe thereto, and ſometimes to be apparelled, as they are, with whom a man conuerſeth, and to inuite them to dine and eate with them, and to vſe ſuch faſhions as they vſe among themſelues, when there ſhal be occaſion to treate of affaires. A man muſt alſo giue vnto Princes ſuch titles as others vſe to giue, or ſuch as are pleaſing vnto thē: for although that they be but worldly vanities, yet a mā muſt not depriue thē of that, which they hold deare, & haue peraduenture ſometime bought for a great ſumme of gold, and are angrie and diſpleaſed when it is de-
C nied them. A man muſt not eſchue the companie and conuerſation of gentlemen as baſe, for it is better to beare with ſome thing, then to ſeeme to abhorre it: and briefly, wee are to behaue our ſelues ſo towards all, as that we may get the fauour and good will of all: for he that will liue only after the manner of his owne countrie, may peraduenture be mockt for his labour, becauſe that faſhions and cuſtomes are not euery where alike: for a man behaueth himſelfe after one manner in Italy, and after another in France, and in France the faſhions are different from thoſe of Spaine. Wherfore he which will liue in Italy as an Italian, in France as a Frenchman, and in
D Spaine after the manner of Spaine, ſhall euer better diſpatch his buſines thē another. And for this cauſe I much eſteem of thoſe which being to trauell into diuers countries, learne diuers languages: for thereby they ſhall be the better vnderſtood in expreſſing their meanings and conceits, in that countrie ſpeech where they are, then they ſhall doe in their owne tongue: and he which ſhall goe Ambaſſadour into Spaine, and follow the Court, being an Italian, ſhall euer haue better acceſſe to the King, and more fauour of his Counſellors and Secretaries, hauing the Spaniſh tongue, then if hee ſpake no other but onely Italian: for beſides that he ſhall neuer haue need

of an Interpreter by him, hee ſhall haue a better grace in ſpeaking Spaniſh, though he ſpeake but indifferently, then though hee ſpake neuer ſo well in Italian. In the time of Pope *Eugenius* the fourth, the Cardinall of Aquileia had this conſideration, being ſent by the Pope as Legate, to *Alfonſo* K. of Arragon and of Naples, to treate of peace betweene them: but becauſe the Cardinall had not the Spaniſh tongue, neither was well able to expreſſe his minde in the Italian, in ſuch ſort as the King might well vnderſtand him, neither anſwered to the Kings demaunds ſo well as to content him, hee reſolued to ſerue his turne, by the meanes of a Prothonotarie, which he had with him, whoſe name alſo was *Alfonſo*, who ſpeaking in Spaniſh to the King, and ſhewing the will and charge of the Legate, ſo as he was vnderſtood, concluded and confirmed the peace; which had not peraduenture been concluded by the Legate, which had not that tongue, neither knew how to vtter his ſpeeches with ſuch efficacie as they might haue been vnderſtood. Thoſe alſo which by good fortune are called to the gouernment of kingdomes and forreine eſtates, to winne the fauour of the people ought alſo to liue after the cuſtome of the countrie whither they are called, and not after that of the countrey where they were bred vp: into which error fell *Vnon* King of the Parthians, which being brought young to Rome, was bred vp and taught there, and learned very well the manners and faſhions of the Romanes. Who being afterwards called to the gouernment of that kingdome, hee vſed towards the Parthians in giuing them audience, and to entertaine them with ſuch humanitie and curteſie as hee had learned at Rome, and would not follow the faſhions and manners of the Parthians: for they had a cuſtome to be gouerned proudly, and to bee commanded by their King with great rigour: for it was the manner of their Kings to proceede in this maner with their ſubiects. And for this cauſe the gouernment of *Vnon* ſeeming vnto them more womaniſh then manly, his Romane nurture was nothing pleaſing to them: and diſliking his humanitie and familiaritie, which they tooke for puſillanimitie, weaknes, and want of ſpirit, in a ſhort time after they depriued him of the kingdome, becauſe hee could not, or would not faſhion himſelfe according to the manners of the countrie where he was.

E F G H

CHAP.

A

CHAP. 98.

It is a ſhamefull and diſhoneſt thing to wrong and doe iniurie to ſtrangers.

B IT is a thing voyde of all ciuilitie and good manners, to doe or ſuffer to be done any iniurie to thoſe which are receiued into our houſe as ſtrangers, which ought to liue vnder our ſauegard and protection, neither more nor leſſe, than as our neereſt friends and Parents: it were better not to receiue them than to doe them any wrong, or ſuffer them to be vſed in ſuch ſort, that they ſhould haue occaſion to complaine, that towards them the holy lawes of hoſpitalitie and courteſie towards ſtrangers were violated. Wherefore I haue euer diſliked thoſe Lords, which haue about them ieſters and dwarfs, or ſuch like traine of moſt baſe condition, who receiuing ſome honourable Gentleman ſtranger into their houſes, permit that thoſe either in word or deed, ſay, or doe them any iniurie, couering the diſhoneſty of the ſpeech or fact, with this leane excuſe, that the iniurie was done by a foole: where the fooles themſelues not diſcerning the qualitie of men, thinke that all men are of like condition, which is falſe: for our humors are not all of one kinde, and ſome one man is pleaſed and delighteth in thoſe toyes, and another hateth them.

C

D And I remember that a filthie dwarfe, very ſhameleſſe and vnmannerly in diſcourſe (as the moſt part of ſuch vermine vſe to be) was likely to haue been throwne by a noble perſonage out at a Palace window, where hee was lodged; and although that this Lorde, through great intreatie, did not throwe the dwarfe out at the windowes, yet he preſently made ſigne to his ſeruants and departed from this pallace, and went to lye in a religious cloyſter, much blaming him that had intertained him; not that he was any way offended or iniured through the Maſters fault of the houſe, but becauſe he kept ſuch raſcally ſcumme in his houſe, which knew no

difference betweene man and man, but vſed al alike. Hoſpitalitie is a vertue worthy a gentleman and a chriſtian, but when it is violated it is changed into a place of robberie: ſo as that lodging, which by the law of hoſpitalitie was holie, becommeth a wood, and a lurking place and ill aſſured: and a ſtranger may ſay, being iniuried, that he found more ſecuritie in forreſts, then in houſes; and more curteſie among beaſts, then among men. From whence proceeded the perpetuall infamie and diſhonour to *Procuſt* and *Sciron*, ſlaine by *Theſeus*, but from the cruelty which they vſed towards ſtrangers, which fell into their hands? For as *Plutarch* ſaith, the one had a bed, where he lodged al the gueſts which he brought into his houſe; and if the man were longer then the bed, he cut off his legs; & if he were ſhorter, he ſtretched him ſo out in length, that he fited him to the bed: and the other, bending downe the boughes of trees to the ground, wherto he tied his gueſts by the members, & then cutting the cords wherewith the boughes were faſtened to the earth, took great pleaſure to ſee a man diſmembred in this manner. Wherfore the Prophet in the Pſalmes ſaid: *Dominus cuſtodiet aduenas, pupillum & viduam ſuſcipiet, & vias peccatorum diſperdet.* As if hee would ſay, there are three ſorts of people in the world preſerued by the Lord, and are as in his ſafeguard: to wit, Strangers, Orphanes, and Widowes. That God defendeth and keepeth ſtrangers, we haue examples in the holie Scriptures; for where mans wiſedome could not defend them, the ſecret iudgement of God hath ſupplied it. *Abraham* was a ſtranger in Egypt, and feared that the beautie of his wife would bee an occaſion of diſhonour vnto her, and of hurt vnto him; and ſo, as a man, he ſought humane meanes: and although that hee would not tell a lye, yet he ſought neuertheleſſe to conceale one truth in alleaging another, willing her to ſay that ſhe was his ſiſter, and conceale that ſhe was his wife: but in that that God taketh care and charge of ſtrangers, *Abraham* was miraculouſly deliuered, but not by his owne wiſedome, and with his honor & life ſaued, he performed the voyage he had begun. Wherefore ſaith the Prophet, that God taketh care for ſtrangers? Hath he not care for all? doth he not regard all? doth he not beſtow his benefits vpon all, as well euill as good? doth he not deſire that all ſhould be ſaued? doth he not call all vnto him? and finally, is not he the vniuerſall father of all, that euer were, are, or ſhall be? Wherefore then doth he ſay, that hee careth for the ſtrangers, and protecteth the orphanes and widowes? becauſe that there are none in the world, which haue more neede of helpe then theſe

Particular perſons preſerued of God.

A theſe three. The ſtranger hath neede of ſome bodie to ſet him in the
right way; the pupill, of ſome one to protect him, and preſerue what
is his; and the widow, of ſome one to defend her from the oppreſ-
ſion of thoſe which are too mightie for her. The ſtranger hath need
of one to defend him from iniuries; the pupill hath neede of one to
aſſure and defend him, againſt him which pretendeth right to his
inheritance; and the widow hath neede of one, to keepe and pre-
ſerue her from him which would deceiue her. The ſtranger hath
neede of one to lodge him in curteſie in his houſe; the pupill of one
who may keepe him neere about him, as his childe; and the widow
B of him who may preſerue her pudicitie, and to keepe her good
name. Among which three degrees of perſons preſerued of God,
hee firſt nameth the ſtranger, becauſe that hee is more forſaken then
the reſt: for the pupill hath his tutors, and the widow her kindred.
For this cauſe God preſerued innocent *Ioſeph*, being ſold to the Iſ-
maelites, and made young *Tobias* to be accompanied by an Angell,
being to goe into a ſtrange countrie. Yea the ſame Prophet reciting
the miſdeedes and wickednes of the vniuſt, and praying to God to
behold them with the eye of his iuſtice, among other things ſaith
thus; *Viduam & aduenam interfecerunt, & pupillos occiderunt:* They
C haue murthered the widow and the ſtranger, and haue put the pu-
pils to death: for as there are none found in the world more
humble, more ſubiect to iniuries, and more vnworthie to bee grie-
ued and wronged, then the ſtranger, the widow, and the pupill: ſo a
man cannot imagine a greater villanie, then that which is done to
one of thoſe. The faults which a man wittingly committeth againſt
his friends are great: but thoſe which are committed againſt ſtraun-
gers, are moſt great in this, that hauing neither friends, nor parents,
which may ſupport and defend their right, any man that wrongeth
them, ſheweth himſelfe to bee moſt baſe and puſillanimous, ſeeing
D that a generous heart can neuer be induced to doe wrong or iniu-
rie to one that is leſſe then himſelfe. For which cauſe there haue bin
many, which haue choſen to bee rather wronged in their honour,
then to ſuffer ſtrangers to bee diſhonoured in their houſes: and o-
thers haue rather ſuffered violence in their bodies, then that thoſe
which they had receiued and lodged in their houſes ſhould indure
any abuſe. Others haue better loued to obſerue inuiolably the du-
tie of hoſpitalitie, then to gaine the friendſhip of an Empire: and o-
thers haue preferred the gentle entertainment of ſtrangers, before
the deliuerie of their country from tyrannie. We reade in the booke

of Iudges in the 19.chapter,that an old Gabaonite lodged a young E
Leuite in his houſe, and ſeeing that certaine impudent young men
of Gabaa,would doe wrong vnto this Leuite, who had a moſt faire
wife; the old man went forth and offered them his daughter,to the
end they ſhould not grieue the Leuite: but the Leuite would not
ſuffer that his hoſt,who had curteouſly lodged him,ſhould be tou-
ched and grieued in honour, but hee abandoned his wife to their
vnbridled rage: and after this execrable fact,hee followed the rigo-
rous and memorable vengeance againſt the Gabaonites. And ſo a
man may ſee that the old Gabaonite was readie to ſuffer that his
owne daughter ſhould rather be diſhonoured,then endure that the F
Leuite lodged in his houſe ſhould receiue any iniurie.

In the time of *Totila*,*Cerbon*,a man of holie life,was Biſhop of a
Citie in Tuſcane,called Popolongna: this man loued better to en-
dure death and to be ſlaine by *Totila*, then to diſcouer certain ſtran-
gers which he had lodged in his houſe. He ſuffered himſelfe to bee
throwne by this Tyrant and giuen to Beares, to the end that they
ſhould haue deuoured him, rather then to ſuffer that thoſe which
he had hidden ſhould fall into the hands of him who was more in-
raged and cruell then a Beare. But *Totila* ſeeing that thoſe cruell
beaſts did not hurt him,notwithſtanding that he was in the midſt a- G
mong them, was aſhamed to take life from him, to whom the ſa-
uage beaſts would doe no harme,and let him goe.

After the battaile of Cannas,wherein *Hanniball* defeated the Ro-
mane armie with two Conſuls, *Hanniball* retired with victorie to
Capua, and was lodged by a gentleman of Capua in his houſe.
This gentlemans ſonne named *Perolla*, much affected to the Ro-
manes,had a deſire to kill *Hanniball*: but his father would not ſuffer
him to doe it,not permitting him to kill ſo great a Captaine in his
owne houſe. And among many reaſons which *Titus Liuius* bring-
ing in the father of this young man, ſpeaking to his ſonne, diſſwa- H
ding him from killing *Hanniball*, hee produceth him, among the
moſt liuely and effectuall, ſaying: That hee ſhould not ſoyle his
hands in the blood of a ſtranger, nor ſtaine and defile his table of
hoſpitalitie, where *Hanniball* had in ſafetie drunke and eaten.

The Romanes had warres againſt *Phillip* of Macedon, and de-
ſiring to draw the Etolians vnto their partie,and to bring *Phillip* in-
to diſgrace with them; as the Romane Oratours ſpake to the Se-
nate of the Etolians, among other matters, they alleaged and re-
proched vnto *Phillip*,the homicide & murther of a ſtranger, whom
he

A he lodging in his houſe had cauſed to be ſlaine. Wherein it is to be ſeene, that the outrage done to ſtrangers, is imputed vnto men among moſt odious villanies. *Cornelius Tacitus* in the fifteenth booke of his hiſtories ſaith, that at Rome was a conſpiracie againſt *Nero*, wherein were many participants, to wit, Senatours, ſundrie of the Order of Knighthood, many ſouldiers, and ſome women: all theſe conſpired together to kill *Nero*, being vnable to endure his ſo great and many villanies and tyrannies: the conſpiracie came to this point, that there wanted nothing, but to finde a place fit to put it in execution. The conſpiratours conſulted together of the time and
B place: one would haue him killed in the Citie and Theater while he was ſinging; or that a houſe ſhould be ſet on fire, and while hee ranne thither without guard, a man might haue oportunitie to kill him. Another would haue him killed in the fieldes, another in the Palace: one was of opinion to haue him killed in the Temple: one named one place, another another. In fine, they reſolued to execute this enterpriſe in the houſe of a certaine man called *Caius Piſo*, who was one of the conſpiratours, a man who for his good qualities and vertues, was wiſhed to haue been choſen to the imperiall dignitie. *Piſo* had his houſe and farme at Baya, whither *Nero*
C of cuſtome did vſe to walke to paſſe the time, and ſtayed there moſt commonly without guard, and without weapons, as in a place moſt ſecure. *Piſo* would not conſent thereto, ſaying, that hee would not defile his houſe with the blood of any Prince whatſoeuer he were, neither his table of hoſpitalitie, and receiuing of gueſts, whither the Emperour came with aſſurance and truſt; adding further, that as often as *Nero* came into his houſe, he receiued him as a ſtranger, and not as a Prince. *Lorenzin de Medicis* had not that conſideration and reſpect, (notwithſtanding his good affection to *Cornelius Tacitus*) when he ſlew *Alexander de Medicis* Duke of Florence: for he
D regarded not that he was in his houſe, and vpon his bed, whither *Alexander* vſed to goe, with great aſſurance: neither whether he were in his houſe as a gueſt, or as a kinſman, or as a Duke: for hee as a reſolute conſpiratour had determined to kill him, where ſoeuer hee might finde oportunitie thereto: by reaſon whereof he peraduenture deſerued no leſſe blame for hauing quelled him in his houſe, where hee held himſelfe for very aſſured, being lodged and aſleepe vpon his bed, then to haue ſlaine a man after whoſe death enſued not any thing of that which he had proiected. But *Piſo* would haue hoſpitalitie and curteſie towards ſtrangers held in ſuch reuerence, as

in ancient time was vſed, which was, holie, free, and venerable, euen E
as they held for holie, free and venerable the publike faith, which it was not lawfull to violate. And although that a man with iuſt cauſe were angrie and diſpleaſed with another man, yet ſo often as he ſhal come where hee may haue his will of him, put himſelfe into his hands, enter into his houſe and lie in his bed, all wrath and hatred ought to bee laid aſide, and to conſider how much importeth the blame to haue violated hoſpitalitie & receiuing of ſtrangers, which is alwaies greater, then any other commoditie or contentment, which may poſſiblie happen by breaking and violating the ſame.

F

CHAP. 99.

How blame-worthie the vice of ingratitude is, in all manner of perſons.

IF I euer deſired to be prouided and furniſhed with liuely and fit ſpeeches, effectuall and of force, I deſire it in this occaſion, wherewith I muſt blame a vice, which cannot be ſo much blamed as it ought: for as treaſon cannot be ſufficiently puniſhed; euen ſo ingratitude cannot bee ſufficiently blamed, being ſo conioyned togethers, that a man may ſay, that euery Traitor is ingratefull, and euery ingrate- G
full man is a Traitor: for like as treaſon is no other thing than a breach of faith and dutie; euen ſo ingratitude is no other thing, H
than a breach of the band and dutie due vnto a man, by reaſon of a pleaſure receiued: and this vice of ingratitude is ſo vile and diſhoneſt, that the ingratefull themſelues, loath to be reproached therewith, and would rather confeſſe themſelues ſubiect to any other imperfection, than to be noted with this vice; which commeth through no other occaſiō, but becauſe that ingratitude only is inexcuſable, & cannot be coloured: the breach of promiſe may beſaid to be an aduiſe vpon better conſideratiō of that which was promiſed: couſonage and deceit may bee ſaid to bee cunning and pollicie;

treaſon

A treaſon may be tearmed reuenge, but ingratitude can haue no other name, neither can be couered or ſhadowed by any meanes, but continuing euer naked and manifeſt, is conſtrained to ſhew it ſelfe euery where with ſhame and diſhonour.

There be three degrees of ingratitude, the firſt is, not to recompenſe and requite a pleaſure receiued: the ſecond, to forget it onely: the third to render euill for good. The firſt is euill, the ſecond is worſe, and the third is worſt of all: the firſt may be ſometimes attributed to the impoſſibilitie; the other to negligence; but the third is euer attributed to malignitie. Not to recompence in
B ſome ſort, may bee excuſed; to forget a pleaſure is hardly excuſable; but to render euill for good, can bee excuſed in no ſort whatſoeuer. And as thoſe are the moſt wicked men in the world, which vſe and abuſe the gifts of God, to the ende to ſinne as rich men, which become couetous; ſound and healthie men, luxurious, incontinent and inſolent; ſtrong and able men, full of violence; ingenious and wittie men, which become deceitfull and fraudulent: euen ſo the ingratefull are more worthie of blame, which turne and conuert the benefites and pleaſures receiued, to the hurt and diſhonour of the benefactor. An ingrate-
C full man ought to bee ſhunned as the plague; for a man cannot finde a more peſtilent and pernicious thing then him, which euer thinketh, ſpeaketh, or doeth euill, and louing only himſelfe, hateth euerie man els, and principallie thoſe which doe good to the good; hee doubteth not to execute any kinde of wickedneſſe, and may well be ſaid, to be the ſinke of all villanie; ſo as a man may be aſſured that the only good which he can doe, is to die onlie, for thereby he ſhall purge and cleare the world from his infection, and the earth doth recouer and hide the horrible monſter, which it bred brought forth. And although that ingratitude be commonlie blamed of all men, yet it ſeemeth that it is little eſteemed now adayes:
D for the number of ingratefull men, is ſo increaſed, that of force wee muſt beare with this imperfection, as wee doe with many others; which commeth of no other thing, but becauſe that this vice by our lawes, can receiue no puniſhment which may equall it. And men ordinarilie now care leſſe for words then for deeds. Wherefore as paines and puniſhments are ordeined for theeues, murtherers, and rebels to Princes, and diſturbers of the common peace; ſo I would to God alſo, that torments were preſcribed for ingratefull men; there would not peraduenture then be ſo many, and men would be more

more afraide to ſhew themſelues to be ingratefull, and without curteſie towards their benefactors. The Egyptians gaue this puniſhment to thoſe which were ingratefull to their father or mother, which was, that they made thē to be gelded, to the end they ſhould not beget any ſuch as they were, and be perpetually depriued of the hope and pleaſure to haue children; iudging that puniſhment to be conformable to the fault, and that hee which was ingratefull to his father, did not deſerue to be a father. As for thoſe which were ingratefull to their friendes, they cauſed them to be proclaimed and publiſhed euery where, for infamous; to the end that no mā ſhould euer doe them anie pleaſure, eſteeming it a puniſhment fit for him which had beene ingratefull to a friend, to bee made to loſe all his friendes. *Zenophon* in the life of *Cyrus* ſaith, that among the Perſians, no vice was more blamed then ingratitude: and they ſeuerely puniſhed him, that was able to requite a pleaſure, if he did not recompence it; for they iudged an ingratefull man, to be a contemner of the gods, to haue no reſpect to his Parents, loue to his countrie, neither care of his friends. Ingratitude ordinarily is a friend and companion to contempt and ſhameleſnes or impudencie: and *Pythagoras* ſhewed well, that ingratefull men were to be baniſhed from the countrie, when he ſaid that we ſhould driue the ſwallowes from the houſe; which hee ſaid to no other end; but becauſe that hee which dareth to ſhew himſelfe ingratefull for a pleaſure receiued, will ſhew himſelfe alſo ſuch, (as it is to be doubted) in all other actions, and forgetting how much he is bound vnto his countrey, he will one day be ſo bolde and hardie as to betray it. With good reaſon an ingratefull man is to be baniſhed from his Countrey, for he is noyſome to himſelfe, in this, that hee maketh himſelfe infamous, and is hurtfull likewiſe to others, becauſe that through his euill example, other men doubting to meete with ſuch ingratefull people, as he is, will doe pleaſure to no man. And this peraduenture is that, which Saint *Bernard* meaneth when hee ſaith, that ingratitude emptieth and drieth vp the fountaine of pietie, that is to ſay, was the occaſion why men drue backe and withheld from doing good to others, through the example of ſome ingratefull man. And for this cauſe the Romanes tooke libertie and freedome from ingratefull ſlaues, being alreadie made free, and made them returne againe into bondage and ſeruitude: and children being ingratefull to their Parents, were diſinherited of their patrimonie, and ſo by this penaltie, they held both their ſeruants and their children in

their

A their dutie. I know that many excuſe themſelues, alleaging, that the importunitie of their benefactor, and the often caſting them in the teeth, with the good turne done them, giueth occaſion to become ingratefull; but I will anſwere theſe men, that although that ſuch a kinde of people be intollerable, ſeeing that their good turnes bring with them more offence than pleaſure, and that this manner of often reproching, maketh a man to deſire rather to forget them, than to acknowledge them: notwithſtanding all this, a noble and generous heart, ought to beare with ſome imperfection in the benefactor, and ought to remember, that to put a man in minde of
B a pleaſure, is one thing, and to caſt him in the teeth, and reproch him therewith, is another: for a man putteth his friends in minde of a pleaſure, and reprocheth his enemies: and ſometime the cauſe why a man is put in minde of a pleaſure done vnto him, commeth of the ſmall conſideration of the ingratefull heart of him, which receiued the pleaſure towards his benefactor: which vſuallie ſo much moueth and offendeth a gentle heart, that ſometimes he is induced, and yeeldeth to doe worſe, and more vnworthie things, than the putting him in minde of a pleaſure done him. Ingratitude then can haue no excuſe, and by ſo much the leſſe, by how much the
C pleaſure hath been great, as that which the Sonne receiueth from the Father, the Citizen or Patriot from his Countrey; the Scholler from his Maſter, and the Subiect from his Prince: and when ſuch kinde of people ſhall riſe againſt their benefactors, and doe ſupport and ſerue their turnes againſt them, with the benefits which they haue receiued from them, they may iuſtlie bee called Mulets or young Mules, as *Plato* called *Ariſtotle*, who after that hee had learned art and knowledge of *Plato*, was ſo vnthankfull and ingratefull for the pleaſure receiued, in hauing learned knowledge and ſcience of him, as to keepe open ſchoole in front, and as in deſpite of his
D Maſter: and as the young Mule, after it hath filled it ſelfe with the dammes milke, kicketh at her with the heeles; euen ſo an ingratefull man, after that he hath receiued a pleaſure, he turneth and beareth himſelfe impudently againſt his benefactor. In the time of our fathers and aunceſters, *Pontanus* was reputed vnthankfull, who being nouriſhed and brought vp by *Ferdinand* and *Alfonſo* Kings of Naples, and brought to that point to be ſo famous, & a great perſonage in learning and knowledge as he was, and little acknowledging this good, and ingratefull to his benefactors, made an oration in diſpraiſe of the King of Arragon, to the praiſe and commenda-

tion

tion of *Charles* the eight, King of France, vpon his Coronation E
day; and ſhewed that he had forgotten the many pleaſures which
he had receiued by the houſe of Arragon; and with good reaſon
deſerued to be reproued for vnthankefull: it was iudged that *Ponta-*
nus repenting to haue made this oration, buried it in perpetuall
darkenes, and would not that it ſhould come to light with his other
workes, as he which wiſely iudged it to be expedient to cut from
the world, the teſtimonie of his ingratitude, although that in one
part he did not ill, with praiſe to extoll the warlike King of France.
Behold (gentle Reader) theſe Conſiderations of the Lord *Remy* of
Florence, who purpoſed to haue proceeded if death had not pre- F
uented him.

FINIS.

A TABLE OF THE PRINCIPALL MATTERS CONTAINED IN THIS BOOKE.

A

ABraham *was miraculouſly deliuered from danger.* 244.*h.*

Alcibiades *an Athenian beloued of ſtrangers.* 240.*e.*

Ageſilaus *and* Epaminõdas *were euery where beloued.* 241.*a*

Alexander Bon *a gentleman of Venice puniſhed for deceit.* 65.*d*

Andronicus *a Greeke ſlaine by the people.* 171.*b*

Alexander *the great poyſoned by* Theſſalus *his Phiſition.* 58.*g*

the ſubtill anſwer of the Duke of Florence to Don Diego de Mendoza *gouernour of Siena.* 42.*h*

Antonell *and* Bernardine Sanſeuerin *again rebelled againſt king* Ferdinand *vpon ſuſpition.* 26.*e*

Antony Maria *Earle of Gaiazza accõpanied* Lewes More *Duke of Milan to priſon in France with his troupe of horſe.* 48.*f*

Aſſurance and ſafegard giuen to a man by a Prince, when it is to bee maintained, and when not. 80.*h*

Alexander *king of the Epirots ſlain by the Lucains, being baniſhed from their countrey, whom hee ſought to reſtore.* 85.*c*

Alexander *the great deſtroyed the Citie of Tyre.* 116.*f*

An Ambaſſadour ought not to care for an ill worde from the Prince with whõ he hath to deale. 122.*h*

A wittie anſwere of a gentleman of Florence 126.*f*

Aprius *King of Egypt cauſed the noſe and eares of* Papremitan *to be cut off.* 137.*c*

Aprius *King of Egypt ſtrangled by his ſubiects.* 137.*d*

the anſwere of Pope Clement *the ſeuenth to the Cardinall* Pompey Columno. 176.*h*

the auarice of the ſeruants and Captaines of Lewes *the 12. King of France were the cauſe of his ruine.* 187.*b*

Andrew Dorie *forſook king* Francis *the firſt in his greateſt neede.* 195.*c*

Affaires of importance are not to bee treated of in ieſt. 199.*d*

the answere of Alexander *to* Proteus *who required securitie.* 202.*e*
the answere of the King of Ethiopia to the Ambassadour of Cambyses. 213.*a*
the foolish answere of Sansedonio *Ambassadour of Siena.* 200.*f*
Astyages *King of the Medes commaunded his nephew to be slaine.* 74.*g*

B

BEssus *executed for murthering his father.* 171.*a*
Braccio da Montone *defeated and put to flight by* Francis Sforce. 127.*d*
Brutus *and* Cassius *against* Octauius *and* Marcus Antonius. 157.*c*
Babylon strictlie besieged, and the siege thereof. 144.*f*
Bernard Contarini *purposed to haue slaine the Duke of Milan.* 153.*b*
the Boulognois for doing outrage to the statue of Pope Iulius *the second, vndid & almost wholy ruinated their whole countrie.* 113.*d*
Bernardin Court *ingratefull to* Lewes *Duke of Milan.* 173.*d*
the Bitter iest of Ferdinand *with* Alfonse *his father.* 17.*a*

C

COmbat *betweene* Cechino *of Padua and* Bennet Liberall. 209.*b*
the Cruelty of Iohn *King of Spaine.* 211.*a*
the Circumspection of Fuluius *a Romane Captaine.* 104.*e*
Comparison betweene the manner of proceeding of Peter de Medicis *with the King of France, and of* Laurence de Medicis *with* Alfonso *King of Naples.* 5.*b*
Clearchus *amiablie appeased the Greekes.* 231.*d*
Charges of importance are most commonly giuen to vnworthie persons, and such as haue no experience. 48.*g*
Caius Cæsar *against King* Iuba. 163.*d*
Charges and gouernments of importance are not to bee giuen to men of the first impression. 53.*d*
Conspirators and suspected persons are not to be beleeued. 56.*b*
the Constancie of Iohn Anthonie Orsin *Prince of Otranto.* 234.*g*
Cæsar *slaine and massacred by* Brutus *and* Cassius. 59.*a*
Cerbon *a holy Bishop in the time of* Totila. 246.*f*
Comparison betweene a louer and a Prince. 65.*b*
a Conspiracie in Rome against Nero. 247.*a*
a Captaine through boldnes and diligence oftentimes obtaineth that which by mildnes he should neuer attaine vnto. 68.*c*
Crassus *against* Spartacus. 162.*b*
a Captaine ought alwaies to bee in a readines and well aduised in his affaires and all actions. 107.*c*
Crueltie a great fault in a Prince. 137.*c*

The Table.

Charles *Duke of Burgundy ſeuerelie puniſhed the Citie of Nants.* 114.f

a Check giuen by the Emperor Maximilian *to the Spaniſh Ambaſſadours.* 123.c

a Combat betweene two ſouldiers. 208.e

the Cunning of Duke Valentine. 139.b

the Iſle of Cypres taken by the Turkes forces in anno 1570. 118.h

the Crueltie of Duke Valentine. 139.c

Cyrus *was found by a ſhepheard.* 74.c

Craſſus *a Generall for the Romanes ouerthrowne and ſlaine being betrayed by a fugitiue.* 143.d

Couetous ſeruants and officers are the cauſe of the ruine of their Prince and rebellion of ſubiects. 186.h

a Combat wherein the innocent was ſlaine. 227.a

D

DOn Diego de Mẽdoza *made no account of the Duke of Florence, when hee gaue him to vnderſtand of the Rebellion and reuolt of Siena.* 2.f

a Daungerous tumult happened in Florence. 236.g

the ſubtill Diſcourſe of Demetrius Phalerius *to King* Ptolomie. 210.f

Dionyſius *the Tyrant made his Barber to be ſlaine.* 166.g

Donat Raffignin *by treaſon yeeldeth the fortreſſe of Valence to the French.* 18.e

Demaratus *loſt the kingdome of the Lacedemonians for ſpeaking one word vnaduiſedly.* 166.h

the Demaunds of Charles *the eight King of France.* 32.h

Dionyſius *put a gentleman to death for ſpeaking of a word.* 166.g

It is diſhonorable for a man to abandon his friend in time of need for any occaſion whatſoeuer. 79.c

Duke Valentine *cauſed* Ranire de Orco *a Spaniard his Lieutenant to be ſlaine in Romania for doing iniuſtice.* 135.b

In chuſing of Generals for the warres the qualitie of the warre and the worthines of the perſon which is to be choſen, is chiefly to be regarded. 50.f

E

ENterpriſes *ought to be conſidered in cold blood, and executed in hot blood.* 190.e

the Emperour Maximilian *diſtruſted the Swiſſers.* 52.g

the Emperour Vitellius *was ouerthrowne by* Veſpaſian *the Emperour.* 141.d

the error of Alberigue *of Barbian.* 194.f

the errour of Ferdinand *King of Spaine.* 194.g

the error of Francis *the firſt King of France.* 194.h

there is double errour committed in chuſing of Captaines. 46.g

the Egyptians puniſhed thoſe children which were ingratefull to

their parents. 250.e
Empoli *taken by the Prince of Orange.* 206.g
of an Enemie what account is to bee made. 183.c.d

F

FInizan ſacked by the French. 4.e
Francis Sforce *of his owne authority concluded a peace between the Venetians and Duke* Phillip *of Milan.* 37.a
Francis Sforce *maketh warre againſt* Phillip *his father in law.* 39.e
the Fault of Lewes Poggio *in departing from Milan.* 41.a
Fabius Maximus *oppoſed himſelfe againſt* Titus Ottacilius *who maried his ſiſters daughter, and would haue been Conſul.* 49.c
Fuluius *a wiſe Captaine of the Romanes.* 104.a
the Florentines by diſtruſting the King of France and the Lord Beaumont *his Generall, loſt a moſt fit oportunitie to recouer the Citie of Piſa.* 72.f
Ferdinand *and* Don Iulius *conſpire againſt* Alfonſe *Duke of Ferrara.* 88.e
Francis Guicciardin *deliuered the Citie of Florence from great danger.* 130.e
the Florentines murmured againſt Guicciardin. 130.g
Federick *of Sicilie cauſed* Remond il Blanco *to be beheaded for treaſon.* 171.d
the Follie and obſtinacie of Cambyſes. 213.c
the French ouerthrowne by the Swiſſers. 151.c
wherefore Francis *the firſt would not performe the articles of agreement made betweene him and* Charles *the fift.* 181.b
Francis Sforce *Duke of Milan renounced the ſafeconduct of the Emperor* Charles *the fift.* 218.f
Foure things principally to bee held inuiolable. 222.g
the Florentines were ſeuerely puniſhed for breaking certaine ſtatues. 114.e

G

GArſia Nicoſio *ſlaine by his Lord vpon ſuſpition.* 229.c
God reuealeth ſinne early or late, and the puniſhment followeth. 170.e
the Greedines of ſouldiers and Captaines hath been the loſſe of many faire enterpriſes. 19.b
Gabades *a Captaine of the Perſians ſacked the Citie of Amide.* 220.h
the Greedines of Engliſh ſouldiers. 19.d
the Greedines of Italian ſouldiers. 21.c
the Greedines of the Stradiots. 21.d
Galeas Sanſeuerin *fled from Alexandria, and left it in pray to the enemie.* 47.d
the Greatnes of courage of the Romane Common-wealth. 93.b
the Germanes were defeated by the Guelphes before Siena. 121.d
in chuſing of Generals for the warres the

the qualitie of the warre and the worthines of the perſon which is to be choſen, is chiefly to be regarded. 50.g
the Gabaonites puniſhed for abuſing a ſtranger. 246.e
a Gentlewoman of Ceſena much praiſed. 102.g

H

HAnnibal *preſerued by a gentleman of Capua.* 246.g
Hannibal *compelled the Saguntines to depart their countrey with the cloathes on their backes onely.* 182.e
Harpagus *tooke pitie of* Cyrus *being an innocent infant.* 74.c
Harpagus *Generall for* Aſtyages *reuolted from him, ouercame and ſlew him.* 75.a
Henry *the* 5. *Emperour made warre in Sicilie againſt King* Roger. 54.e
He that is employed ought to haue an eye to his Princes qualities and conditions. 36.e
the Hopes of baniſhed men are more meaſured with deſire then with reaſon. 86.h
Hippolito de Medicis *much fauoured of the Hungars.* 240.g
Herod *made a promiſe to his daughter in law, without any conſideration.* 179.d
Hierom Sauonarola *loſt his credit in Florence.* 28.e
Hippolita *Cardinall of Ferrara, made the eyes of* Iulius de Eſté *to be pluckt out and ſet in againe.* 87.d
Hoſpitalitie is a vertue worthie of a gentleman & a Chriſtian. 244.e
Hugo de Moncado *ſlaine in a battaile by Sea againſt* Phillippin de Doria. 191.a

I

IT is notable folly to giue much credit to iudiciall Aſtrologie. 57.c
It is not poſsible to foreſee or preuent al the miſhaps & diſgraces which may happen to Princes, neither to reſiſt or redreſſe them when they happen. 51.f
It is follie to commit the ſtate of an Empire to the will of a few. 154.e
Iohn Bentiuogli *and* Hermes *his ſonne in one night murthered almoſt all thoſe which were of the houſe of* Mareſcotti, *or depending thereof, through ſuſpition.* 64.g
Iaques Caldor *noted of inconſtancie.* 233.a
Imbault *Generall of the French armie mocked the Florentines.* 72.g
Iohn Rata *Earle of Caſerta put his Lord* Manfredi *King of Sicilie in extreame danger.* 78.e
the Inſolence of the Spaniſh ſouldiers. 132.g
the Imereſians ſeaze vpon Reggio. 141.c
Ioy cannot be hidden. 99.c
the Iſſue and end of an enterpriſe manifeſteth the wiſedom of the counſell giuen. 178.e

be which doth an Iniurie doth more ſhame and diſhonour to himſelfe, then to him to whom the wrong is done. 73.c
to deface an Image or ſtatue is a poore reuenge. 113.a
Inconſtancie and lightnes of wit is greatly to be reproued, principally in a Captaine. 233.b

L

LAwes ordained by Valerius Coruinus, *and* Tiberius Gracchus. 221.b
Laurence de Medicis *reconciled to* Alfonſe *King of Naples.* 6.h
Let not him which is not of power ſufficient attēpt enterpriſes which he cannot maintaine. 11.b
Lewes More *out of countenance and mocked by the Florentine Ambaſſadours.* 24.h
the Law of Appeal *introduced by* Sauonarola. 27.c
the Lord of Tremouille with abſolute power concluded a peace with the Swiſſers, notwithſtanding that it was vpon very vnworthie conditions. 34.g
Light beleefe in euery thing ſheweth a light wit, and weak braines. 53.b
it is Loſt labour to goe about to perſwade obſtinate perſons by reaſon: for the more they are counſelled, the more ſtifly they perſiſt in their opinion. 60.g
Lautrech *through his obſtinacie was the cauſe of the totall ruine of the French Army before Naples, and was the occaſion of his owne death.* 61.a
Liuius Salinator *expoſed the Romane Armie to manifeſt danger.* 27.a
the Laurentines in reuenge of the iniurie done to their Ambaſſadours ſlew Tatius *king of the Romanes.* 89.b
Lewes More *Gouernour of Milan, cauſed himſelfe to bee called the ſonne of Fortune.* 99.d
Lewes *Duke of Milan betrayed by the Swiſſers.* 52.e
Lycurgus *his law.* 140.h
the liberalitie of Artaxerxes. 188.h
the liberalitie of Coſmo de Medicis *Duke of Florence.* 203.a

M

MOre praiſe and commendation is purchaſed by pardoning, then by taking reuenge. 102.f
a Man wrongeth himſelf in ſpeaking ill of his ſuperiours. 211.b
no Man would be too freely reprehended. 209.d
a Man ought to bee well aduiſed how he promiſe any thing. 179.b
a Man may in two manners haue knowledge of his enemies purpoſes. 156.h
a Man cannot retaine that greatnes in aduerſitie, which he ſhewed in the beginning of his proſperitie. 91.b
no Man is abſolutely nor altogether wicked. 82.h
Men happen oftentimes to haue need of thoſe men, which in former time they deſpiſed. 69.d

no

no Man can ſerue two maſters. 232.*h*
a Man ought by his wiſedome to eſchue & ouercome the euils threatned againſt him by his conſtellation. 59.*d*
Manfredi *by a wile deliuered himſelfe frō the ſiege of Nocerra, and ſeazed on the kingdome of Sicilie.* 56.*f*
no Mans friendſhip is to be deſpiſed whatſoeuer when it is offred. 45.*c*
one Mans doings ought not to ſerue for a generall rule for all mē. 42.*g*
Manlius Torquatus *cauſed his own ſonne to be ſlaine.* 63.*e*
the Meanes of Duke Valentine *to make himſelfe great.* 29.*d*

N

NIcholas Campo Bachio *an Italian Earle, to be reuenged betrayed his Maſter* Charles *Duke of Burgundie, and withdrew himſelfe to* Lewes *King of France.* 78.*h*
a Notable ouerthrow of the Engliſh. 21.*a*
the Noblenes of a man is to be conſidered according to his valour and vertue, and not according to and after his deſcent. 46.*g*
a Notable reuenge vpon Panioni Sciotte *by* Hermotine *of Pedaſe.* 76.*f*
a Noble act of the Emperour Maximilian. 103.*e*
Nicias *a Captaine of the Athenians through his temeritie was ouercome & ſlain by* Gilippus. 127.*b*
the Noble mind of the Emperor Rodulph *the firſt.* 183.*a*
Nicholas Franco *was hanged at Rome for railing.* 224.*g*
Narſes *wroth with the Emperour of Conſtantinople.* 235.*d*

O

ONe *fooliſh act maketh a man to bee reputed a foole, and one act of infidelitie maketh a mā for euer to be held for diſloyall.* 196.*g*
the Opinion of the Marqueſſe of Peſcara. 161.*a*
the Ouerthrow of the Florentines before Piſa, through the policie of Mutolo *a Piſan Captaine.* 105.*b*
Obſtinacie maketh men cruell both againſt themſelues & others. 61.*c*
an Obſtinate man loueth rather to dye, then to ſhew euen the leaſt ſigne of humilitie. 62.*g*
the Ouerthrowe of the French at Guinguaſt in Picardie. 22.*f*
the Ouerſight of Peter de Medicis. 7.*b*

P

PEace *betweene* Charles *the fift and* Francis *the firſt King of France.* 238.*e*
Peter de Medicis *chaſed from his countrey.* 4.*h*
Penander *the tyrant ſlaine by one of his houſehold.* 15.*d*
the Pleaſant dangerous ieſt of a ſouldier. 16.*e*
Peter de Medicis *driuen from Florence.* 33.*a*
Paulo Vitellio *condemned to die by the Florentines.* 34.*e*

the People of Milan reiected by Lewes *King of France.* 45.b
the Pisans loued better to subiect themselues to the Genoays their mortall enemies, than to the Florentines their Lords, neighbours, and friends. 63.b
Peter Candian *Prince of Venice, for his euill behauiour was slaine by the common people.* 77.d
Princes haue neede of many things, and of the seruice of many persons. 86.h
Paulanias *murthered* Phillip *king of Macedonia his soueraigne Lord* 87.c
more Praise is purchased by pardoning, than by taking reuenge. 102.f
Petilius Coreal *Generall for the Romanes, through his negligence was put to flight.* 106.g
Prospero Columna *through his owne fault was taken prisoner by the Lord of Palisse, a Commaunder of the French.* 108.e
Prato sacked by the Spaniards. 117.b
Publike persons hauing charge, incur many errors if they bee not endued with wisdome. 149.b
Pope Leo *the tenth his discourse to a Groome of his Chamber.* 189.a
a Prince ought to consider what he speaketh in choler when he speaketh any thing of any particular subiect. 211.d
the Prudence of the Senate of Siracusa. 215.d
Particular persons preserued by God. 244.g
Peace between the Emperor Charles *the fift, and* Francis *the first, king of France.* 238.e
Peter Brunor *betraied* Francis Sforce. 234.e
a Prince ought to consider of the qualitie of euill speeches. 223.c
Prospero *and* Fabritio Columna, *returne to the seruice of* Ferdinand *king of Naples.* 9.c
the common People is insatiable, euer coueteth new things, and is neuer content. 44.g
a Prince ought to haue many Spies, and one not to know the other. 160.f
the Prudence of king Francis *the first, in the battaile against the Swissers at Marignan.* 158.e
Proude men are hardly appeased by humilitie. 98.e

R

ROger *the second, king of Sicilie, taken prisoner by the Emperour,* Henry *the fift, at Palermo, with his three sisters, and had his eyes and stones plackt out, and dyed in prison.* 54.f
more Reckoning is made of one pleasure to come, than of a hundred alreadie receiued. 29.d
a publike Rumor is not to be contemned, because it seemeth, that what is in euery mans mouth, is to be held for a diuine oracle. 58.f
Rome abandoned by the Romanes, for feare of the Gaules. 104.h
Robert *K. of Sicilie taken prisoner, and*

and afterwards deliuered by his brother Roger. 180.*f*

S

SPies may doe harme by their reports to Princes. 160.*e*
a Scosse vsed by an Agent, for Charles *the fift.* 200.*g*
certaine Spanish Captaines conuict of treason, and made to passe the Pikes. 168.*f*
to Speake to no purpose is hurtfull. 165.*d*
the Subtiltie of Gonsaluo Fernandes, *the great Captaine.* 161.*c*
Spyes ought not by a Prince to be aduaunced to honours and publike charges. 160.*g*
the Swissers were deceiued by the French, in passing the Alpes. 155.*c*
Subiects ought not to be put in dispaire, by maintaining of Gouernours. 132.*e*
Silenonte was taken by the Carthagenians, for that it was not in time relieued by the Siracusans. 119.*c*
Sundrie opinions whether a man ought to containe himselfe within the bonds of his Commission. 35.*c*
a Small matter breaketh friendship, but much is required to restore it. 25.*d*
Scipio Nasica *odious to the Romane people.* 15.*d*
a Spirit appeared to Iaques *a Chirurgion, in the likenes of* Ferdinand *king of Naples.* 12.*g*
Spirits are of two kindes. 12.*h*
a Spirit appeared to Saul *in the likenes of* Samuel. 13.*a*
Spirits appeare in diuers formes. 13.*b*
to what kind of men they appeare. eadem.
a Subiect ought to dissemble his discontentment, when he is reiected by his Prince. 203.*e*

T

TErentius Varro *defeated by the Carthagenians.* 151.*c*
Things which may be or not be, and depend on the will of Fortune, ought not constantly to be affirmed, before they be perfourmed. 149.*d*
Tygranes *king of Armenia, put to flight, by* Lucullus *a Captaine of the Romanes.* 122.*g*
They which doe wrong and shew crueltie to the dead, are worthie of eternall shame and dishonour. 113.*b*
To knowe what may breede feare in an enemie, is the beginning of good successe. 111.*c*
Themistocles *poysoned himselfe.* 85.*d*
There are fiue things which induce a man which hath been disloyall to his first friend, to be faithfull to the second. 42.*g*

V

VIrginio Vrsin *sent his sonne to serue the French.* 8.*b*

that

that Vertue is knowne in time of trouble, whichin peace is not esteemed. 49.*a*

Vital Michael *Prince of Venice in disgrace with the people.* 55.*b*

Valentine *cunningly entrapped by* Gonsaluo Fernandes *sent into Spaine prisoner, and there kept in the Castle at Medina* del Campo. 81.*d*

that is a perfect Victorie, which assureth a man in his estate, and deliuereth him from the feare of his enemies. 109.*a*

an imperfect Victorie, is the seede, roote, and originall of another warre. 109.*c*

Victorie is oftentimes the cause of vices. 109.*d*

the Venetians would not suffer Bernard Contarini *to kill the Duke of Milan.* 133.*c*

the Villanie of certaine Spanish Captaines, who by treason would haue caused the Aluain, *a Captaine of the Venetians to haue been slaine.* 154.*h*

that Vertue is known in time of trouble, which in peace is not esteemed. 149.*a*

W

William *the first, king of Sicilie, would neuer beleeue, that* Maion *a fauorite of his, would haue slaine him.* 59.*b*

William *king of Sicilie, caused a certaine Iudge to be fleyed, because he did not execute Iustice in his charge.* 134.*f*

the Wittie speech of Marius *and* Fabius Maximus. 219.*b*

the Wise answer of the Poet Philippides, *to king* Lysimachus. 228.*h*

X

Xenophon *giueth his Souldiers to vnderstand that hee had not robbed thē of their pay.* 217.*d*

Z

Zophir *by fraude put the Citie of Babilon into the hands of king* Darius. 144.*h*

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gentleman was suspected to haue grieuously offended the Prince in honour, concerning some women in the Court; and if this Prince neuer in all his life committed other fault, by the testimonie of all Christendome, speaking with humanitie a man might say, that this fact was by him executed vpon most iust occasion.

CHAP. 93.

It is both honourable and profitable to a Captaine, sometime to yeeld to the desire of his Souldiers, thereby to holde and maintaine himselfe in their loue and friendship.

THe chiefest care that a Captaine ought to haue concerning his Souldiers is, to make himselfe beloued among them, and to keepe and continue himselfe in their loue and friendship: and although that at sometime it bee necessarie to vse seuetitie in punishing their faults, and to obserue and maintaine Discipline, and keepe them in obedience; the good-will and affection towards him, will take place, notwithstanding: for in punishing vice, he seemeth to esteeme and make account of vertue. A Captaine doth also assure vnto him the loue and good will of his Souldiers, when hee seemeth to regard them, and will not stand so obstinately in his opinion, that hee will not graunt them any thing that they shall desire, and principallie when hee is intreated by them for some thing, which he may graunt with his honour, and to their contentment, for in doing the contrarie, the Souldiers conceiue an indignation in their hearts against him, and after that euill will beginneth to grow betweene them and their Captaine, it will be hard to effect any enterprise of worth: and although that for some respects they doe not kill him, they will not therefore forbeare to shew their discontentment when occasion shall be offered. A man would not beleeue how profitable it is to a Captaine, to yeeld to the iust desires of his Souldiers, and sometime to shew that he esteemeth and respecteth them: and how much to the contrarie he wrongeth himselfe by being obstinate, and to deny and reiect

A iect their honest demaunds, making little account of them, and besides will make them execute that by force, which willingly they would not doe: which may be seene by two rare examples, although they be of much antiquitie. *Clearchus* a Lacedemonian, tooke part with *Cyrus* King of Persia, and Brother to *Artaxerxes*; and *Cyrus* hauing determined to make warres against his Brother, sent word to *Clearchus* that he should come to serue him with his men of warre in this enterprise, but to reueale to no bodie whither he went. *Clearchus* went to *Cyrus* where he was, who presently dispatched him, and gaue him in charge to take his way towards Cili- Xenophon *in his first booke.*
B cia against his Brother, without knowing either the place or the enterprise which was in hand. Being come to the Citie of Tharsus, where staying twentie daies to rest and refresh his Armie, the Greeke Souldiers began to doubt that they were lead against *Artaxerxes*, and therefore would not march any farther, alleaging that they were not hyred to that purpose. And *Clearchus* (to shew the affection which he bare to the seruice of *Cyrus*) would haue made them march by force, which they perceiuing threw stones and their weapons at him, thinking to haue killed him: when he saw that perforce he could get nothing at their hands, he resolued to
C speake vnto them gently, and to conclude his discourse, with such amiable words, saying, that he loued better to conserue and keepe himselfe in the loue and friendship of the Greekes, than of the Barbarians; and if they meant not to obey and follow him, he was readie to submit himselfe to them, and to follow them: he gat hereby so great good will, that hauing cast off all hatred and ill will conceiued against their Commaunder, they did in the end, what he would haue them to doe. Wherefore a man may see, that it is not alwaies vnfit for a Captaine to yeeld and consent sometime to the Clearchus *amiably appeased the Greeks.*
will of his Souldiers, and to satisfie their desire. *Lucullus* a Romane
D Captaine did not so, who in the warres against *Methridates* tooke many Cities by composition, and would not suffer his Souldiers to take any by assault, and to sacke the same for the spoyle; which they often requested and much desired; and although that *Lucullus* vsed all meanes to feede and satisfie them with good words, yet he could neuer appease their wrath and indignation against him, which they shewed when time and occasion serued: for when *Pompey* came in his place to succeede him, there was no man that would accompanie him to Rome, but one thousand Souldiers which by commandements went thither against their will: and although that *Lucullus*

did many faire exploits with his Souldiers; it was not for any loue E
that they bare vnto him, but because they would not diminish the
reputation and credit of the name of Romane: wherefore a man
may consider, that a Captaine ought sometimes to yeeld and con-
forme himselfe to the will and desire of his Souldiers, principallie
in matters which he may doe with his honour, and such as will not
be preiudiciall vnto him.

F

CHAP. 94.

It is a thing blame-worthie in all men, to be noted for inconstancy and lightnes of wit, which in a Captaine is held for a most notable vice.



THere be many things which make a Captaine to be little esteemed, as crueltie, couetousnes, negligence, and many other: but G
lightnes of mind, and inconstancie of hart, (although that he be valiant and of good iudgement) make him commonly to be held in very small reputation; so as when a man shall speake of him in good companie of wise men, and that a man shall recite his valour and prowesse, it will be presently said; but he is as light witted, and as variable and inconstant, as an aspen leafe, and seeming little to esteeme him, breake off the discourse: and certainelie they deserue much to be pitied, which naturallie endued with many good parts, are neuer- H
theless deprived of constancie of heart, and stablednes of minde, and being vnable to maintaine themselues in the friendship of one man onely, perceiue not that whilest they endeuour to please sundrie, they are in the grace and fauour of none; and in the meane season, like whores and mercenaries, following after gaine, they often change both their pay and their Lord, and lose the loue of all, and become suspected to all for Traitors: for no man will trust them, or giue them any charge of importance, because that the second Master doubting, and with iust cause fearing their fidelity, and

No man can serue two Masters.

that

A that by their lightnes and naturall inconſtancie, they will do by him as they did by the firſt, ſtanding on his guarde, and being alwaies in doubt, it behoueth him to be as carefull in keeping himſelfe from his owne people, as from his enemies. *Iacques Caldor* in his time was a valiant Captaine, as *Bertelmew Fazio* writeth in the acts and ieſts of *Alfonſo* King of Naples, a man of ſpirit, learned, and endowed with many good parts, fit to make him beloued of ſouldiers and men of warre: but by reaſon of his lightnes and inconſtancie, hee was not ſo eſteemed as his other qualities were worthie of: which might in his time haue made him very honourable, if they had bin B accompanied with prudence and good gouernment; for it is a fault in any man to be inconſtant. *Anthony Caldor* his ſonne, who after the death of his father, tooke vpon him the charge and leading of his fathers troupes, was likewiſe ſtained with the ſame ſpot, whereof being firſt ſuſpected by *Rene* Duke of Aniou, hee was caſt in priſon, and afterwards comming to the ſeruice of *Alfonſo* of Arragon his enemie, he was likewiſe held by him for inconſtant and of ſmall truſt: wherefore this poore *Anthony*, ſeeing himſelfe in diſgrace with both the one and other Prince, was conſtrained to giue his ſonne vnto *Alfonſo*, in pawne of his faith. But ſome ſpace after, ha- C uing forſaken *Alfonſo*, and being againe returned to follow Duke *Rene*, prouoked thereto by his owne ficklenes and inconſtancie of ſpirit, was ouercome in a battaile, and taken priſoner by King *Alfonſo*: which will euer happen vnto ſuch Captaines which ſerue Princes, and are ſo inconſtant, that they know not how to continue in the fauour and good grace of one Maſter, but to their ſhame and diſhonour ſhew themſelues deſirous of change and nouelties. But this is not to bee vnderſtood of thoſe, which in that they are free, hauing ſerued one Prince in the warres, and giuing vp their charge and commiſsion, may ſerue any other whom they liſt; neither of D thoſe, which induced by ſome iuſt diſcontentment, through wrong and iniurie vniuſtly done vnto them, or conſtrained by vrgent neceſſitie, to preſerue either their libertie or their eſtate, are conſtrained againſt their wils to follow and ſerue him, whom they would not: but I ſpeake of thoſe which of their owne fickle lightnes and inconſtancie, which after the manner of frogges leape now here, now there, and ſometimes vpon the very point to haue performed ſome honourable enterpriſe (to no purpoſe and without any occaſion) take pleaſure to hinder a victorie, and to ſee diſorder and confuſion; and are glad to ſee him come to ruine and decay, who hath

Iacques Caldor noted of inconſtancie.

giuen them pay & maintenance, and reposing much trust in them, E
hath vsed them with more honour then they deserued. Of such
kinde of men many examples might be alleaged, which for breui-
tie I will ouer-passe, only this of *Peter Brunor* shall suffice, according
as *Bartelomew Fazio* in the acts of *Alfonso* King of Naples writeth:
which *Brunor* hauing him a great friend to *Francis Sforce*, and much
honoured by him, inticed either by the faire promises of King *Al-*
fonso, or induced through some displeasure, which could be neither
reasonable, nor very great, euen in his greatest need he forsook him,
and went to serue the King with 200. horse: and this his departure
put *Francis Sforce* to such trouble & for out of order, that his affaires F
went euer after from ill to worse, so as of force hee must render and
yeeld himself vnto the mercie of the Duke of Milan, being his ene-
mie, although that he were his father in law. And to the contrarie,
the Lord *Iohn Anthony Orsin*, Prince of Tarent, worthily deserued e-
ternall praise, and to be esteemed and reputed for a rare example of
firme constancie of heart, who in the beginning fauoured and took
part with *Alfonso* King of Naples, against Queene *Ioan*, and against
Reine of Anion, and could neuer after, neither for losse of battailes,
imprisonment of his owne person, or for any other strange accident
that happened vnto him whatsoeuer, be induced to forsake King G
Alfonso so long as hee liued, but continued firme and stedfast in his
friendship. And although that afterwards (vpon some occasion) he
would not follow the friendship of *Ferdinand* his sonne, hee deser-
ued not therefore to be condemned of inconstancie, seeing that he
was not bound to persist and continue in the friendship of another
man, notwithstanding that he were a dependant and successour of
his deceased friend.

Bartel. Fazio lib. 8.

Peter Brunor betraied Francis Sforce.

The constancie of Iohn Anthony Orsin Prince of Otranto.

CHAP.

A

Chap. 95.

A Generall or Commaunder in chiefe, ought not to be touched in his honour and reputation by those which made choise of him, and principally during the time that he is in Armes.

B

IT is a custome among all Princes, hauing occasion to chuse a Generall, either of their owne subiects or some stranger, to make choise of some honourable personage and of good renowme. After that hee is chosen and that hee hath the gouernment and charge of the Armies, it is neither secure nor conuenient, to touch him in honour, either in word or deede, as (with disgrace) to take his charge from him, or by iniurious speeches to withdraw him from his enterprises, or to charge him to doe
C some dishoneſt thing, and such like; for therein a noble heart aspiring to honour and glorie, is stirred vp and inflamed with despite and discontentment: so as seeing himselfe touched in honor, he frameth himselfe by all meanes to take reuenge. *Narses* an eunuch (to confirme my saying with an ancient example) was Generall of the Emperor *Iustine* his Armie in Italie, & performed for the Empire diuers & sundrie worthy enterprises: and while as he was armed, and euen vpon the point of his victories, *Iustine* deposed him from his charge and gouernment of the imperiall Armie; and the Empresse added thereto certaine iniurious speeches, and sent him word that
D he should returne to keepe her women companie and spin. *Narses* made answere, that hee would spin her such a thread, which after that it were twisted, she should in long time not vnwinde it. And by his wit and valour, hauing called the Lombards into Italie, hee was the occasion why the Emperour of the East, lost all that which hee possessed in the West.

Narses wroth with the Emperour of Constantinople.

A man may also for example bring in the fault which the Florentines committed in the time that Pope *Clement* the 7. made wars against them, which was this: They chose *Malatesta Baglioni* for their General, and put themselues in armes for their defence against Guicci. lib. 10.

the Popes and the Emperours Armies: and hauing ſuſtained and E
valiantly endured the ſiege for the ſpace of eleuen moneths, and ha-
uing conſumed their victuals, and being no longer able to make re-
ſiſtance, all aide and ſuccours failing them, their Generall and the
Lord *Stephen Columna*, aduiſed them to ſee if they could come to
ſome agreement with the Emperour and the Pope, by ſome good
compoſition. But *Raphael Girolami*, which was Standerd-bearer,
with many other citizens of his faction, being moued againſt *Ma-*
lateſta, without conſideration of the daunger wherein the citie was,
and that the Generall was armed, and had a good corps de guard of
ſouldiers, Peruſins, and other Nations at his ſeruice and commaun- F
dement; they ſent *Andrew Nicolini*, and *Francis Zati* as Ambaſſa-
dours to *Malateſta*, to diſcharge him, and to depriue him of his au-
thoritie and charge of Generall; which was concluded in their
Common councell. *Malateſta* was very angrie, and ſetting hand to
his poyniard, fell vpon *Nicolini*, and once ſtabd him, and would
haue ſlaine him, but for thoſe which ſtood by, who prayed him to
hold his hands. Hereupon the Citie mutined, and euery man be-
tooke him to his weapons. Wherefore *Malateſta* fearing ſome great
hurlie burlie, preſently ſent the Captaine *Margute* of Peruſa, to ſeize
on the port of S. Peter Gatolini, which is the gate towards Rome, G
and gaue him charge to prime the Ordnance, and to bend it againſt
the Citie, to be able to defend himſelfe againſt the Citizens, if per-
aduenture they ſought to offend him, and cauſed to come to him
A dangerous tumult happened in Florence. all the ſouldiers ſtrangers which he had in Florence. If the enemie
at that time had giuen aſſault vnto the Citie, being then diſunited
from their Generall, it might eaſily haue been taken and ſackt, as
well by thoſe which were within, as by thoſe which were without,
both which at one inſtant would haue been become enemies. And
ſo through the little wit and ſmall diſcretion of the Magiſtrates, the
ſafetie of their Citie and countrie was ſet (as a man might ſay) vpon H
the point of a needle. Generals then and Colonels are not to bee
grieued and touched in honour; and it were much better to reſolue
to puniſh them, when they commit any notable faults, (as many
Potentates haue done) then by interreſſing their honors, to hazard
the affaires and enterprizes in queſtion, as may bee well perceiued
by the two examples aboue alleaged.

CHAP.

A

Chap. 96.

It is both honourable and profitable to treate of peace betweene those which are enemies.

B



IT is no small charge to intermeddle in treaties of peace, between those which are at warres, principally when the enemies are armed, and verie puissant, or are much stirred and moued, by meanes of some late iniuries. And it seemeth to bee a vaine and vnprofitable thing, and to no purpose, at such a time, to speake of peace, because that each of thē is desirous to trie his forces: so that he to whō it shall happen to conclude and make a peace, may iustly be reputed
C and held both for happie and wise, seeming impossible to be able, at one time, to coole their hearts, being much chafed, and withall to appease them being much moued. But when that by reason of a long warre, of great charge and losse, the parties offended feele themselues tired, and wearied with the warres, although that neither party will giue place to the other, neither begin to parley of any accord or agreement, for that they will not seeme discouraged; then those which intermeddle and will attempt to procure a peace betweene them, may hope of good successe: for by that time the blood is cooled, and the consideration of their owne forces is ma-
D nifest, and they doe better measure the dangers and estate of their owne affaires; and for this cause both the one and the other partie beginneth more willingly to giue care to the motion of a peace, which may bee easily concluded, because that it requireth no great industrie, neither intelligence, and is the cause that he which practiseth it, purchaseth great praise of the world, and receiueth good reward and recompence of the Princes which are pacified. *Francis Sforce*, in the time of our ancestors, benefited himselfe by the like occasion, who knowing the Milanois and the Venetians to be wearie of the long warre, which they had maintained the one against the other, concluded and established a peace betweene them at an instant,

ſtant, euen then when the Armies thought they ſhould haue put themſelues in a readines to haue giuen the charge and to haue come to a battaile. E

Peace between Charles the 5. and Francis the firſt King of France.

Charles the fift was entred ſo farre into France in the yeere 1544: that the Citie of Paris it ſelfe was in armes, and *Francis* the firſt king of France, oppoſed himſelfe againſt him in perſon with a great armie at the riuer of Marne: theſe Princes had long warres togethers, ſo as a man might preſume that they both were wearied with the great charge, long troubles, and preſent dangers. Wherefore ſome vndertooke to treate of a peace betweene them, the which (becauſe *Charles* was in neede and neceſſitie, and the King of France as willing to bee quiet and would not gainſay it) the peace was preſently concluded with great praiſe to him which moued and proſecuted it. And the Lord *Leues Alamani* (a moſt excellent Poet) being demaunded at the Court, while as the peace was concluding, what he thought thereof anſwered vpon a ſudden in two verſes and ſaid: F

Com'eſſer può ch'a noi pace ſi toglia,
S'un v'ha neceſſità l'altro n'ha voglia?
Of preſent peace how can we but ſpeed,
Sith the one is willing, and the other hath need?

And in the yeere 1546. the warre hauing long continued betweene *Francis* the firſt King of France, and *Henry* the eight King of England by reaſon of Bouloigne, *Guidotti* (a gentleman of Florence and knight of Malta), conſidering that the King of France was ſo wearie and tired with ſuch continuall troubles, and ſo angry for the loſſe of Bouloigne, that hee would haue done any thing to haue recouered it againe: and on the other ſide, that the King of England (the peace being concluded betweene the Emperor and the King) would willingly be rid and diſpeſtred from the continuance of this warre, expoſed himſelfe betweene theſe two Kings, and with ſo good grace handled the matter, that a peace and agreement was ratified with great facilitie and readines: whereby he wonne ſo much honour towards the world and had ſuch gifts and preſents of theſe two Kings, that returning rich to his countrie, hee entred into Florence as in triumph, and was accompanied to his houſe with great pompe, and reputed to be a man of great wiſedome, and admired as one which knew how to gouerne the hearts of Princes. This may happen to thoſe which are fit for it, and ſhall put themſelues betweene Princes, which are weare of the warres, who for ſome reaſon will not ſeeme to giue place the one to the other. And if G H

now

A now at this preſent, ſome man would interpoſe himſelfe by ſome honeſt and reaſonable conditions, to accord & pacifie the troubles in Flaunders, finding meanes that religion might haue libertie, and the Prince his authoritie, and the Eſtates aſſurance and ſome ſatisfaction, I doe beleeue that hee might eaſily appeaſe thoſe warres and controuerſies, which haue indured alreadie ſo many yeeres, with ſo great preiudice to the Chriſtian faith, charge and expence of money, and ſhedding of ſo much humane blood.

B

Chap. 97.

He which goeth into a forraine Countrie with charge of importance, ought to frame himſelfe according to the faſhions of that Countrey wherein he is, for to liue after the manner of his owne countrey, it is not euery where ſecure.

C

AMong all the faire conditions and qualities which ought to bee in a Gentleman, well borne, who is to bee employed in publique affaires, in my opinion, the one of the moſt principall is, for a man to knowe how to accommodate and frame himſelfe according to the faſhion of thoſe Countries whither hee goeth, whether it be vpon his owne pleaſure, or ſome other bodies. And this is it, why many as well Ambaſſadours as Captaines, haue effected great matters, about which they haue been ſent by their Maſters: which is not happened vnto them onely ſo much, for knowing the Princes humour, with whom they had to negotiate, as to be framed and fitted to the faſhions and manners of the Court and Countrey where they are: and thoſe which haue done otherwiſe, haue been deceiued, and moſt commonly haue borne loſſe, dammage, and ſhame: for the likenes of faſhions and manners in behauiour, is a thing very fit to breede good will, and procure friendſhip: but that muſt not be done in flatterie and adulation, which is preſently knowne and diſcouered: but to ſhew that a man doth not abhorre or loath the Countrey faſhions

D

shions where he is, as euill, or despise them as vicious; but so obserueth them, as seeming good vnto him, which is a meane fit to make him to be beloued and respected by that Countrey people: for this cause *Alcibiades* the Athenian was highly praised; for in what place soeuer he came, either by his apparell, or his manner of life and conuersation, he accommodated and framed himselfe to the custome and fashions of the Countrey where he was, whereby he wan the hearts as well of the Princes, as of the common people, with whom hee had to deale, and brought whatsoeuer hee vndertooke, to a good and happie successe: for when he was at Athens, he applied himselfe to pleasant and witty discourses, and often laughed and iested with such subtilties, he bred most faire horses, and in briefe, lead a merrie life, after the custome of Athens. When he was in Lacedemonia, he shaued his head and his beard, ware a long cloake, and washt himselfe in fresh water. When hee was in Thracia, he was euer readie to fight and to drinke: and being at Tisapherne, he liued deliciously in pompe and pleasure, and for this cause he was euery where well beloued.

Alcibiades an Athenian, beloued of strangers.

When *Hippolito de Medicis* was sent by Pope *Clement* the seuenth, Ambassadour for his Holines into the warres of Hungarie, against the Turkes, he was much beloued by those of the Countrey, because that sometimes he apparelled himselfe after their fashion, and conformed himselfe vnto their other maners: which acquired vnto him the loue and fauour of that nation. But because that in euery Countrey there be both good and euill fashions, I speake of those which generally are held for good; for I meane not that it is well done for a man to fashion himselfe to certaine particular vices, principallie in a publike person, if it bee not in secret, among equals; which also should not be practised, but tollerable, as for example, although that in Germanie it bee a common custome to drinke so much till some be drunken, which is a vice; but tollerable by that nation, accustomed to wine, which will bee no way beseeming or conuenient for an Italian Ambassadour, or of another nation, neither for euery graue man to doe the like, for although that he be reputed (according to the by-word) a good companion among those which are giuen to this vice, he shall be therefore neither praised nor esteemed by men of iudgement, and the Germane Lords, as wise and aduised, know well how hurtfull drunkennes is in a man, to whom are giuen Commissions and charges of secret affaires, and of importance. Whereforе a graue man may make himselfe

Hippolito de Medicis vvas much fauoured of the Hungars.

A ſelfe to be well beloued, without giuing himſelfe to ſuch manners, which leane vnto vice, in modeſtly auoiding thē by his grauitie, and without blaming of them openly as euill: from hence it grew, that *Ageſilaus* and *Epaminondas*, in retaining their particular nourtur and behauiour, although that they frequented many nations of diuers manners and faſhions, were neuertheleſſe beloued euery where, ſhewing themſelues in their apparell, diet, ſpeech, grace and bringing vp worthy themſelues. And *Plato* was no other at Syracuſa, then he was wont to bee at Athens, and with *Dion* and *Dionyſius* hee was the ſame. It importeth much to know the manners and faſhions of
B a nation, which among them are generally accounted and taken for good, and to aſſay and practiſe to conforme himſelfe thereto, and ſometimes to be apparelled, as they are, with whom a man conuerſeth, and to inuite them to dine and eate with them, and to vſe ſuch faſhions as they vſe among themſelues, when there ſhal be occaſion to treate of affaires. A man muſt alſo giue vnto Princes ſuch titles as others vſe to giue, or ſuch as are pleaſing vnto thē: for although that they be but worldly vanities, yet a mā muſt not depriue thē of that, which they hold deare, & haue peraduenture ſometime bought for a great ſumme of gold, and are angrie and diſpleaſed when it is de-
C nied them. A man muſt not eſchue the companie and conuerſation of gentlemen as baſe, for it is better to beare with ſome thing, then to ſeeme to abhorre it: and briefly, wee are to behaue our ſelues ſo towards all, as that we may get the fauour and good will of all: for he that will liue only after the manner of his owne countrie, may peraduenture be mockt for his labour, becauſe that faſhions and cuſtomes are not euery where alike: for a man behaueth himſelfe after one manner in Italy, and after another in France, and in France the faſhions are different from thoſe of Spaine. Wherfore he which will liue in Italy as an Italian, in France as a Frenchman, and in
D Spaine after the manner of Spaine, ſhall euer better diſpatch his buſines thē another. And for this cauſe I much eſteem of thoſe which being to trauell into diuers countries, learne diuers languages: for thereby they ſhall be the better vnderſtood in expreſſing their meanings and conceits, in that countrie ſpeech where they are, then they ſhall doe in their owne tongue: and he which ſhall goe Ambaſſadour into Spaine, and follow the Court, being an Italian, ſhall euer haue better acceſſe to the King, and more fauour of his Counſellors and Secretaries, hauing the Spaniſh tongue, then if hee ſpake no other but onely Italian: for beſides that he ſhall neuer haue need

of an Interpreter by him, hee shall haue a better grace in speaking Spanish, though he speake but indifferently, then though hee spake neuer so well in Italian. In the time of Pope *Eugenius* the fourth, the Cardinall of Aquileia had this consideration, being sent by the Pope as Legate, to *Alfonso* K. of Arragon and of Naples, to treate of peace betweene them: but because the Cardinall had not the Spanish tongue, neither was well able to expresse his minde in the Italian, in such sort as the King might well vnderstand him, neither answered to the Kings demaunds so well as to content him, hee resolued to turne his tune, by the meanes of a Prothonotarie, which he had with him, whose name also was *Alfonso*, who speaking in Spanish to the King, and shewing the will and charge of the Legate, so as he was vnderstood, concluded and confirmed the peace; which had not peraduenture been concluded by the Legate, which had not that tongue, neither knew how to vtter his speeches with such efficacie as they might haue been vnderstood. Those also which by good fortune are called to the gouernment of kingdomes and forreine estates, to winne the fauour of the people ought also to liue after the custome of the countrie whither they are called, and not after that of the country where they were bred vp: into which error fell *Nero* King of the Parthians, which being brought young to Rome, was bred vp and taught there, and learned very well the manners and fashions of the Romanes. Who being afterwards called to the gouernment of that kingdome, hee vsed towards the Parthians in giuing them audience, and to entertaine them with such humanitie and curtesie as hee had learned at Rome, and would not follow the fashions and manners of the Parthians: for they had a custome to be gouerned proudly, and to bee commanded by their King with great rigour: for it was the manner of their Kings to proceede in this maner with their subiects. And for this cause the gouernment of *Nero* seeming vnto them more womanish then manly, his Romane nurture was nothing pleasing to them: and disliking his humanitie and familiaritie, which they tooke for pusillanimitie, weakenes, and want of spirit, in a short time after they depriued him of the kingdome, because hee could not, or would not fashion himselfe accordingly to the manners of the countrie where he was.

CHAP.

A

Chap. 98.

It is a ſhamefull and diſhoneſt thing to wrong and doe iniurie to ſtrangers.

B IT is a thing voyde of all ciuilitie and good manners, to doe or ſuffer to be done any iniurie to thoſe which are receiued into our houſe as ſtrangers, which ought to liue vnder our ſauegard and protection, neither more nor leſſe, than as our neereſt friends and Parents: it were better not to receiue them than to doe them any wrong, or ſuffer them to be vſed in ſuch ſort, that they ſhould haue occaſion to complaine, that towards them the holy lawes of hoſpitalitie and courteſie towards ſtrangers were violated. Wherefore I haue euer diſliked thoſe Lords, which haue about them ieſters and dwarfs, or ſuch like traine of moſt baſe condition, who receiuing ſome honourable Gentleman ſtranger into their houſes, permit that thoſe either in word or deed, ſay, or doe them any iniurie, couering the diſhoneſty of the ſpeech or fact, with this leane excuſe, that the iniurie was done by a foole: where the fooles themſelues not diſcerning the qualitie of men, thinke that all men are of like condition, which is falſe: for our humors are not all of one kinde, and ſome one man is pleaſed and delighteth in thoſe toyes, and another hateth them. D And I remember that a filthie dwarfe, very ſhameleſſe and vnmannerly in diſcourſe (as the moſt part of ſuch vermine vſe to be) was likely to haue been throwne by a noble perſonage out at a Palace window, where hee was lodged; and although that this Lorde, through great intreatie, did not throwe the dwarfe out at the windowes, yet he preſently made ſigne to his ſeruants and departed from this pallace, and went to lye in a religious cloyſter, much blaming him that had intertained him; not that he was any way offended or iniured through the Maſters fault of the houſe, but becauſe he kept ſuch raſcally ſcumme in his houſe, which knew no

difference betweene man and man, but vſed al alike. Hoſpitalitie is a vertue worthy a gentleman and a chriſtian, but when it is violated it is changed into a place of robberie: ſo as that lodging, which by the law of hoſpitalitie was holie, becommeth a wood, and a lurking place and ill aſſured: and a ſtranger may ſay, being iniuried, that he found more ſecuritie in forreſts, then in houſes; and more curteſie among beaſts, then among men. From whence proceeded the perpetuall infamie and diſhonour to *Procuſt* and *Sciron*, ſlaine by *Theſeus*, but from the cruelty which they vſed towards ſtrangers, which fell into their hands? For as *Plutarch* ſaith, the one had a bed, where he lodged al the gueſts which he brought into his houſe; and if the man were longer then the bed, he cut off his legs; & if he were ſhorter, he ſtretched him ſo out in length, that he fitted him to the bed: and the other, bending downe the boughes of trees to the ground, wherto he tied his gueſts by the members, & then cutting the cords wherewith the boughes were faſtened to the earth, took great pleaſure to ſee a man diſmẽbred in this manner. Wherfore the Prophet in the Pſalmes ſaid: *Dominus cuſtodiet aduenas, pupillum & viduam ſuſcipiet, & vias peccatorum diſperdet.* As if hee would ſay, there are three ſorts of people in the world preſerued by the Lord, and are as in his ſafeguard: to wit, Strangers, Orphanes, and Widowes. That God defendeth and keepeth ſtrangers, we haue examples in the holie Scriptures; for where mans wiſedome could not defend them, the ſecret iudgement of God hath ſupplied it. *Abraham* was a ſtranger in Egypt, and feared that the beautie of his wife would bee an occaſion of diſhonour vnto her, and of hurt vnto him; and ſo, as a man, he ſought humane meanes: and although that hee would not tell a lye, yet he ſought neuertheleſſe to conceale one truth in alleaging another, willing her to ſay that ſhe was his ſiſter, and conceale that ſhe was his wife: but in that that God taketh care and charge of ſtrangers, *Abraham* was miraculouſly deliuered, but not by his owne wiſedome, and with his honor & life ſaued, he performed the voyage he had begun. Wherefore ſaith the Prophet, that God taketh care for ſtrangers? Hath he not care for all? doth he not regard all? doth he not beſtow his benefits vpon all, as well euill as good? doth he not deſire that all ſhould be ſaued? doth he not call all vnto him? and finally, is not he the vniuerſall father of all, that euer were, are, or ſhall be? Wherefore then doth he ſay, that hee careth for the ſtrangers, and protecteth the orphanes and widowes? becauſe that there are none in the world, which haue more neede of helpe then theſe

Particular perſons preſerued of God.

E F G H

A theſe three. The ſtranger hath neede of ſome bodie to ſet him in the right way; the pupill, of ſome one to protect him, and preſerue what is his; and the widow, of ſome one to defend her from the oppreſſion of thoſe which are too mightie for her. The ſtranger hath need of one to defend him from iniuries; the pupill hath neede of one to aſſure and defend him, againſt him which pretendeth right to his inheritance; and the widow hath neede of one, to keepe and preſerue her from him which would deceiue her. The ſtranger hath neede of one to lodge him in curteſie in his houſe; the pupill of one who may keepe him neere about him, as his childe; and the widow
B of him who may preſerue her pudicitie, and to keepe her good name. Among which three degrees of perſons preſerued of God, hee firſt nameth the ſtranger, becauſe that hee is more forſaken then the reſt: for the pupill hath his tutors, and the widow her kindred. For this cauſe God preſerued innocent *Ioſeph*, being ſold to the Iſmaelites, and made young *Tobias* to be accompanied by an Angell, being to goe into a ſtrange countrie. Yea the ſame Prophet reciting the miſdeedes and wickednes of the vniuſt, and praying to God to behold them with the eye of his iuſtice, among other things ſaith thus: *Viduam & aduenam interfecerunt, & pupillos occiderunt:* They
C haue murthered the widow and the ſtranger, and haue put the pupils to death: for as there are none found in the world more humble, more ſubiect to iniuries, and more vnworthie to bee grieued and wronged, then the ſtranger, the widow, and the pupill: ſo a man cannot imagine a greater villanie, then that which is done to one of thoſe. The faults which a man wittingly committeth againſt his friends are great: but thoſe which are committed againſt ſtraungers, are moſt great in this, that hauing neither friends, nor parents, which may ſupport and defend their right, any man that wrongeth them, ſheweth himſelfe to bee moſt baſe and puſillanimous, ſeeing
D that a generous heart can neuer be induced to doe wrong or iniurie to one that is leſſe then himſelfe. For which cauſe there haue bin many, which haue choſen to bee rather wronged in their honour, then to ſuffer ſtrangers to bee diſhonoured in their houſes: and others haue rather ſuffered violence in their bodies, then that thoſe which they had receiued and lodged in their houſes ſhould indure any abuſe. Others haue better loued to obſerue inuiolably the dutie of hoſpitalitie, then to gaine the friendſhip of an Empire: and others haue preferred the gentle entertainment of ſtrangers, before the deliuerie of their country from tyrannie. We reade in the booke

of Iudges in the 19. chapter, that an old Gabaonite lodged a young Leuite in his house, and seeing that certaine impudent young men of Gabaa, would doe wrong vnto this Leuite, who had a moſt faire wife, the old man went forth and offered them his daughter, to the end they ſhould not grieue the Leuite: but the Leuite would not ſuffer that his hoſt, who had curteouſly lodged him, ſhould be touched and grieued in honour, but hee abandoned his wife to their vnbridled rage: and after this execrable fact, hee followed the rigorous and memorable vengeance againſt the Gabaonites. And ſo a man may ſee that the old Gabaonite was readie to ſuffer that his owne daughter ſhould rather be diſhonoured, then endure that the Leuite lodged in his houſe ſhould receiue any iniurie.

In the time of *Totile*, *Cerbon*, a man of holie life, was Biſhop of a Citie in Tuſcane, called Popolongna: this man loued better to endure death and to be ſlaine by *Totile*, then to diſcouer certain ſtrangers which he had lodged in his houſe. He ſuffered himſelfe to bee throwne by this Tyrant and giuen to Beares, to the end that they ſhould haue deuoured him, rather then to ſuffer that thoſe which he had hidden ſhould fall into the hands of him who was more inraged and cruell then a Beare. But *Totile* ſeeing that thoſe cruell beaſts did not hurt him, notwithſtanding that he was in the midſt among them, was aſhamed to take life from him, to whom the ſauage beaſts would doe no harme, and let him goe.

After the battaile of Cannas, wherein *Hanniball* defeated the Romane armie with two Conſuls, *Hanniball* retired with victorie to Capua, and was lodged by a gentleman of Capua in his houſe. This gentlemans ſonne named *Perolle*, much affected to the Romanes, had a deſire to kill *Hanniball*: but his father would not ſuffer him to doe it, not permitting him to kill ſo great a Captaine in his owne houſe. And among many reaſons which *Titus Liuius* bringing in the father of this young man, ſpeaking to his ſonne, diſſwading him from killing *Hanniball*, hee propoſeth him, among the moſt liuely and effectuall, ſaying: That hee ſhould not foyle his hands in the blood of a ſtranger, nor ſtaine and defile his table of hoſpitalitie, where *Hanniball* had in diuerſe drunke and eaten.

The Romans had warres againſt *Philip* of Macedon, and deſiring to draw the Etolians vnto their parde, and to bring *Philip* into diſgrace with them, as the Romane Orator ſpake to the Senate of the Etolians, among other matters, they alleaged and reproched vnto *Philip*, the homicide & murther of a ſtranger, whom

he

A he lodging in his house had caused to be slaine. Wherein it is to be seene, that the outrage done to strangers, is imputed vnto men among most odious villanies. *Cornelius Tacitus* in the fifteenth booke of his histories saith, that at Rome was a conspiracie against *Nero*, wherein were many participants, to wit, Senatours, sundrie of the Order of Knighthood, many souldiers, and some women: all these conspired together to kill *Nero*, being vnable to endure his so great and many villanies and tyrannies: the conspiracie came to this point, that there wanted nothing, but to finde a place fit to put it in execution. The conspiratours consulted together of the time and
B place: one would haue him killed in the Citie and Theater while he was singing, or that a house should be set on fire, and while hee ranne thither without guard, a man might haue oportunitie to kill him. Another would haue him killed in the fieldes, another in the Palace: one was of opinion to haue him killed in the Temple: one named one place, another another. In fine, they resolued to execute this enterprise in the house of a certaine man called *Caius Piso*, who was one of the conspiratours, a man who for his good qualities and vertues, was wished to haue been chosen to the imperiall dignitie. *Piso* had his house and farme at Baya, whither *Nero*
C of custome did vse to walke to passe the time, and stayed there most commonly without guard, and without weapons, as in a place most secure. *Piso* would not consent thereto, saying, that hee would not defile his house with the blood of any Prince whatsoeuer he were, neither his table of hospitalitie, and receiuing of guests, whither the Emperour came with assurance and trust; adding further, that as often as *Nero* came into his house, he receiued him as a stranger, and not as a Prince. *Laurenzio de Medicis* had not that consideration and respect, (notwithstanding his good affection to *Cornelius Tacitus*) when he slew *Alexander de Medicis* Duke of Florence: for he
D regarded not that he was in his house, and vpon his bed, whither *Alexander* vsed to goe, with great assurance: neither whether he were in his house as a guest, or as a kinsman, or as a Duke: for hee as a resolute conspiratour had determined to kill him, where soeuer hee might finde oportunitie thereto: by reason whereof he peraduenture deserued no lesse blame for hauing quelled him in his house, where hee held himselfe for very assured, being lodged and asleepe vpon his bed, then to haue slaine a man after whose death ensued not any thing of that which he had proiected. But *Piso* would haue hospitalitie and curtesie towards strangers held in such reuerence, as

in ancient time was vsed, which was, holie, free, and venerable, euen E
as they held for holie, free and venerable the publike faith, which it was not lawfull to violate. And although that a man with iust cause were angrie and displeased with another man, yet so often as he shal come where hee may haue his will of him, put himselfe into his hands, enter into his house and lie in his bed, all wrath and hatred ought to bee laid aside, and to consider how much importeth the blame to haue violated hospitalitie & receiuing of strangers, which is alwaies greater, then any other commoditie or contentment, which may possiblie happen by breaking and violating the same. F

Chap. 99.

How blame-worthie the vice of ingratitude is, in all manner of persons.

IF I euer desired to be prouided and furnished with liuely and fit speeches, effectuall and of force, I desire it in this occasion, wherewith I must blame a vice, which cannot be so much blamed as it ought: for as treason cannot be sufficiently punished, euen so ingratitude cannot bee sufficiently blamed, being so conioyned togethers, that a man may say, that euery Traitor is ingratefull, and euery ingratefull man is a Traitor: for like as treason is no other thing than a breach of faith and dutie, euen so ingratitude is no other thing, than a breach of the band and dutie due vnto a man, by reason of a pleasure receiued: and this vice of ingratitude is so vile and dishoneſt, that the ingratefull themselues, loath to be reproached therewith, and would rather confesse themselues subiect to any other imperfection, than to be noted with this vice, which commeth through no other occasiō, but because that ingratitude only is inexcusable, & cannot be coloured: the breach of promise may be said to be an aduise vpon better consideratiō of that which was promised: coufonage and deceit may bee said to bee cunning and pollicie; G H

treason

A treaſon may be tearmed reuenge, but ingratitude can haue no other name, neither can be couered or ſhadowed by any meanes, but continuing euer naked and manifeſt, is conſtrained to ſhew it ſelfe euery where with ſhame and diſhonour.

There be three degrees of ingratitude, the firſt is, not to recompenſe and requite a pleaſure receiued: the ſecond, to forget it onely: the third to render euill for good. The firſt is euill, the ſecond is worſe, and the third is worſt of all: the firſt may be ſometimes attributed to the impoſſibilitie; the other to negligence; but the third is euer attributed to malignitie. Not to recompence in
B ſome ſort, may bee excuſed; to forget a pleaſure is hardly excuſable; but to render euill for good, can bee excuſed in no ſort whatſoeuer. And as thoſe are the moſt wicked men in the world, which vſe and abuſe the gifts of God, to the ende to ſinne as rich men, which become couetous; ſound and healthie men, luxurious, incontinent and inſolent; ſtrong and able men, full of violence; ingenious and wittie men, which become deceitfull and fraudulent: euen ſo the ingratefull are more worthie of blame, which turne and conuert the benefites and pleaſures receiued, to the hurt and diſhonour of the benefactor. An ingrate-
C full man ought to bee ſhunned as the plague; for a man cannot finde a more peſtilent and pernicious thing then him, which euer thinketh, ſpeaketh, or doeth euill, and louing only himſelfe, hateth euerie man els, and principallie thoſe which doe good to the good; hee doubteth not to execute any kinde of wickedneſſe, and may well be ſaid, to be the ſinke of all villanie; ſo as a man may be aſſured that the only good which he can doe, is to die onlie, for thereby he ſhall purge and cleare the world from his infection, and the earth doth recouer and hide the horrible monſter, which it bred and brought forth. And although that ingratitude be commonlie blaD med of all men, yet it ſeemeth that it is little eſteemed now adayes; for the number of ingratefull men, is ſo increaſed, that of force wee muſt beare with this imperfection, as wee doe with many others; which commeth of no other thing, but becauſe that this vice by our lawes, can receiue no puniſhment which may equall it. And men ordinarilie now care leſſe for words then for deeds. Wherefore as paines and puniſhments are ordeined for theeues, murtherers, and rebels to Princes, and diſturbers of the common peace; ſo I would to God alſo, that torments were preſcribed for ingratefull men; there would not peraduenture then be ſo many, and men would be

more

more afraide to shew themselues to be ingratefull, and without cur- E
tesie towards their benefactors. The Egyptians gaue this punish-
ment to those which were ingratefull to their father or mother,
which was, that they made thē to be gelded, to the end they should
not beget any such as they were, and be perpetually depriued of the
hope and pleasure to haue children; iudging that punishment to be
conformable to the fault, and that hee which was ingratefull to his
father, did not deserue to be a father. As for those which were in-
gratefull to their friendes, they caused them to be proclaimed and
published euery where, for infamous; to the end that no mā should
euer doe them anie pleasure, esteeming it a punishment fit for him F
which had beene ingratefull to a friend, to bee made to lose all his
friendes. *Xenophon* in the life of *Cyrus* saith, that among the Persians,
no vice was more blamed then ingratitude: and they seuerely pu-
nished him, that was able to requite a pleasure, if he did not recom-
pence it; for they iudged an ingratefull man, to be a contemner of
the gods, to haue no respect to his Parents, loue to his countrie, nei-
ther care of his friends. Ingratitude ordinarily is a friend and com-
panion to contempt and shamelesnes or impudencie: and *Pythago-*
ras shewed well, that ingratefull men were to be banished from the
countrie, when he said that we should driue the swallowes from the G
house; which hee said to no other end; but because that hee which
dareth to shew himselfe ingratefull for a pleasure receiued, will
shew himselfe also such, (as it is to be doubted) in all other actions,
and forgetting how much he is bound vnto his countrey, he will
one day be so bolde and hardie as to betray it. With good reason
an ingratefull man is to be banished from his Countrey, for he is
noysome to himselfe, in this, that hee maketh himselfe infamous,
and is hurtfull likewise to others, because that through his euill
example, other men doubting to meete with such ingratefull peo-
ple, as he is, will doe pleasure to no man. And this peraduenture is H
that, which Saint *Bernard* meaneth when hee saith, that ingrati-
tude emptieth and drieth vp the fountaine of pietie, that is to say,
was the occasion why men drue backe and withheld from doing
good to others, through the example of some ingratefull man.
And for this cause the Romanes tooke libertie and freedome from
ingratefull slaues, being alreadie made free, and made them returne
againe into bondage and seruitude: and children being ingratefull
to their Parents, were disinherited of their patrimonie, and so by
this penaltie, they held both their seruants and their children in

their

A their dutie. I know that many excuſe themſelues, alleaging, that the importunitie of their benefactor, and the often caſting them in the teeth, with the good turne done them, giueth occaſion to become ingratefull; but I will anſwer thoſe men, that although that ſuch a kinde of people be intollerable, ſeeing that their good turnes bring with them more offence than pleaſure, and that his manner of often reproching, maketh a man to deſire rather to forget them, than to acknowledge them: notwithſtanding all this, a noble and generous heart, ought to beare with ſome imperfection in the benefactor, and ought to remember, that to put a man in minde of
B a pleaſure, is one thing, and to caſt him in the teeth, and reproch him therewith, is another: for a man putteth his friends in minde of a pleaſure, and reprocheth his enemies: and ſometime the cauſe why a man is put in minde of a pleaſure done vnto him, commeth of the ſmall conſideration of the ingratefull heart of him, which receiued the pleaſure towards his benefactor: which vſuallie ſo much moueth and offendeth a gentle heart, that ſometimes he is induced, and yeeldeth to doe worſe, and more vnworthie things, than the putting him in minde of a pleaſure done him. Ingratitude then can haue no excuſe, and by ſo much the leſſe, by how much the
C pleaſure hath been great, as that which the Sonne receiueth from the Father, the Citizen or Patriot from his Countrey; the Scholler from his Maſter, and the Subiect from his Prince: and when ſuch kinde of people ſhall riſe againſt their benefactors, and doe ſupport and ſerue their turnes againſt them, with the benefits which they haue receiued from them, they may iuſtlie bee called Mulets or young Mules, as *Plato* called *Ariſtotle*, who after that hee had learned art and knowledge of *Plato*, was ſo vnthankfull and ingratefull for the pleaſure receiued, in hauing learned knowledge and ſcience of him, as to keepe open ſchoole in front, and as in deſpite of his
D Maſter: and as the young Mule, after it hath filled it ſelfe with the dammes milke, kicketh at her with the heeles; euen ſo an ingratefull man, after that he hath receiued a pleaſure, he turneth and beareth himſelfe impudently againſt his benefactor. In the time of our fathers and auncеſters, *Pontanus* was reputed vnthankfull, who being nouriſhed and brought vp by *Ferdinand* and *Alfonſo* Kings of Naples, and brought to that point to be ſo famous, & a great perſonage in learning and knowledge as he was, and little acknowledging this good, and ingratefull to his benefactors, made an oration in diſpraiſe of the King of Arragon, to the praiſe and commenda-

tion

tion of *Charles* the eight, King of France, vpon his Coronation E
day; and shewed that he had forgotten the many pleasures which
he had received by the house of Arragon; and with good reason
deserued to be reproued for vnthankefull: it was iudged that *Ponta-*
nus repenting to haue made this oration, buried it in perpetuall
darkenes, and would not that it should come to light with his other
workes, as he which wisely iudged it to be expedient to cut from
the world, the testimonie of his ingratitude, although that in one
part he did not ill, with praise to extoll the warlike King of France.
Behold (gentle Reader) these Considerations of the Lord *Remy* of
Florence, who purposed to haue proceeded if death had not pre- F
uented him.

FINIS.

22 JY 69

A TABLE OF THE PRINCIPALL MATTERS CONTAINED IN THIS BOOKE.

A

ABraham *was miraculously deliuered from danger.* 244.h.

Alcibiades *an Athenian beloued of strangers.* 240.e.

Agesilaus *and* Epaminõdas *were euery where beloued.* 241.a

Alexander Bon *a gentleman of Venice punished for deceit.* 65.d

Andronicus *a Greeke slaine by the people.* 171.b

Alexander *the great poysoned by* Thessalus *his Phisition.* 58.g

the subtill answer of the Duke of Florence to Don Diego de Mendoza *gouernour of Siena.* 42.h

Antonell *and* Bernardine Sanseuerin *again rebelled against king* Ferdinand *vpon suspition.* 26.e

Antony Maria *Earle of Gaiazza accõpanied* Lewes More *Duke of Milan to prison in France with his troupe of horse.* 48.f

Assurance and safegard giuen to a man by a Prince, when it is to bee maintained, and when not. 80.h

Alexander *king of the Epirots slain by the Lucains, being banished from their countrey, whom hee sought to restore.* 85.c

Alexander *the great destroyed the Citie of Tyre.* 116.f

An Ambassadour ought not to care for an ill worde from the Prince with whõ he hath to deale. 122.h

A wittie answere of a gentleman of Florence 126.f

Aprius *King of Egypt caused the nose and eares of* Papremitan *to be cut off.* 137.c

Aprius *King of Egypt strangled by his subiects.* 137.d

the answere of Pope Clement *the seuenth to the Cardinall* Pompey Columno. 176.h

the auarice of the seruants and Captaines of Lewes *the 12. King of France were the cause of his ruine.* 187.b

Andrew Dorie *forsook king* Francis *the first in his greatest neede.* 195.c

Affaires of importance are not to bee treated of in iest. 199.d

the anſwere of Alexander *to* Proteus *who required ſecuritie.* 202.*e*
the anſwere of the King of Ethiopia to the Ambaſſadour of Cambyſes. 213.*a*
the fooliſh anſwere of Sanſedonio *Ambaſſadour of Siena.* 200.*f*
Aſtyages *King of the Medes commaunded his nephew to be ſlaine.* 74.*g*

B

BEſſus *executed for murthering his father.* 171.*a*
Braccio da Montone *defeated and put to flight by* Francis Sforce. 127.*d*
Brutus *and* Caſſius *againſt* Octauius *and* Marcus Antonius. 157.*c*
Babylon ſtrictlie beſieged, and the ſiege thereof. 144.*f*
Bernard Contarini *purpoſed to haue ſlaine the Duke of Milan.* 153.*b*
the Boulognois for doing outrage to the ſtatue of Pope Iulius *the ſecond, vndid & almoſt wholy ruinated their whole countrie.* 113.*d*
Bernardin Court *ingratefull to* Lewes *Duke of Milan.* 173.*d*
the Bitter ieſt of Ferdinand *with* Alfonſe *his father.* 17.*a*

C

COmbat *betweene* Cechino *of Padua and* Bennet Liberall. 209.*b*
the Cruelty of Iohn *King of Spaine.* 211.*a*
the Circumſpection of Fuluius *a Romane Captaine.* 104.*e*
Compariſon betweene the manner of proceeding of Peter de Medicis *with the King of France, and of* Laurence de Medicis *with* Alfonſo *King of Naples.* 5.*b*
Clearchus *amiablie appeaſed the Greekes.* 231.*d*
Charges of importance are moſt commonly giuen to vnworthie perſons, and ſuch as haue no experience. 48.*g*
Caius Cæſar *againſt King* Iuba. 163.*d*
Charges and gouernments of importance are not to bee giuen to men of the firſt impreſſion. 53.*d*
Conſpirators and ſuſpected perſons are not to be beleeued. 56.*h*
the Conſtancie of Iohn Anthonie Orſin *Prince of Otranto.* 234.*g*
Cæſar *ſlaine and maſſacred by* Brutus *and* Caſſius. 59.*a*
Cerbon *a holy Biſhop in the time of* Totila. 246.*f*
Compariſon betweene a louer and a Prince. 65.*b*
a Conſpiracie in Rome againſt Nero. 247.*a*
a Captaine through boldnes and diligence oftentimes obtaineth that which by mildnes he ſhould neuer attaine vnto. 68.*e*
Craſſus *againſt* Spartacus. 162.*h*
a Captaine ought alwaies to bee in a readines and well aduiſed in his affaires and all actions. 107.*c*
Crueltie a great fault in a Prince. 137.*c*

Charles *Duke of Burgundy ſeuerelie puniſhed the Citie of Nanis.* 114.f

a Check giuen by the Emperor Maximilian *to the Spaniſh Ambaſſadours.* 123.c

a Combat betweene two ſouldiers. 208.e

the Cunning of Duke Valentine. 139.b

the Iſle of Cyprus taken by the Turkes forces in anno 1570. 118.h

the Crueltie of Duke Valentine. 139.c

Cyrus *was found by a ſhepheard.* 74.c

Craſſus *a Generall for the Romanes ouerthrowne and ſlaine being betrayed by a fugitiue.* 143.d

Couetous ſeruants and officers are the cauſe of the ruine of their Prince and rebellion of ſubiects. 186.h

a Combat wherein the innocent was ſlaine. 227.a

D

DOn Diego de Mẽdoza *made no account of the Duke of Florence, when hee gaue him to vnderſtand of the Rebellion and reuolt of Siena.* 2.f

a Daungerous tumult happened in Florence. 236.g

the ſubtill Diſcourſe of Demetrius Phalerius *to King* Ptolomie. 210.f

Dionyſius *the Tyrant made his Barber to be ſlaine.* 166.g

Donat Raffignin *by treaſon yeeldeth the fortreſſe of Valence to the French.* 18.e

Demaratus *laſt the kingdome of the Lacedemonians for ſpeaking one word vnaduiſedly.* 166.h

the Demaunds of Charles *the eight King of France.* 32.h

Dionyſius *put a gentleman to death for ſpeaking of a word.* 166.g

It is diſhonerable for a man to abandon his friend in time of need for any occaſion whatſoeuer. 79.c

Duke Valentine *cauſed* Ranire de Orco *a Spaniard his Lieutenant to be ſlaine in Romania for doing iniuſtice.* 135.b

In chuſing of Generals for the warres the qualitie of the warre and the worthines of the perſon which is to be choſen, is chiefly to be regarded. 50.f

E

ENterpriſes *ought to be conſidered in cold blood, and executed in hot blood.* 190.e

the Emperour Maximilian *diſtruſted the Swiſſers.* 52.g

the Emperour Vitellius *was ouerthrowne by* Veſpaſian *the Emperour.* 141.d

the error of Alberigue *of Barbian.* 194.f

the errour of Ferdinand *King of Spaine.* 194.g

the error of Francis *the firſt King of France.* 194.h

there is double errour committed in chuſing of Captaines. 46.g

the Egyptians puniſhed thoſe children which were ingratefull to

their parents. 250.e
Empoli taken by the Prince of Orange. 206.g
of an Enemie what account is to bee made. 183.c.d

F

Finizan sacked by the French. 4.e
Francis Sforce of his owne authority concluded a peace betweene the Venetians and Duke Phillip of Milan. 37.a
Francis Sforce maketh warre against Phillip his father in law. 39.e
the Fault of Lewes Poggio in departing from Milan. 41.a
Fabius Maximus opposed himselfe against Titus Ottacilius who maried his sisters daughter, and would haue been Consul. 49.c
Fuluius a wise Captaine of the Romanes. 104.a
the Florentines by distrusting the King of France and the Lord Beaumont his Generall, lost a most fit oportunitie to recouer the Citie of Pisa. 72.f
Ferdinand and Don Iulius conspire against Alfonse Duke of Ferrara. 88.e
Francis Guicciardin deliuered the Citie of Florence from great danger. 130.e
the Florentines murmured against Guicciardin. 130.g
Federick of Sicilie caused Remond il Blanco to be beheaded for treason. 171.d
the Follie and obstinacie of Cambyses. 213.c
the French ouerthrowne by the Swissers. 151.c
wherefore Francis the first would not performe the articles of agreement made betweene him and Charles the fift. 181.b
Francis Sforce Duke of Milan renounced the safeconduct of the Emperor Charles the fift. 218.f
Foure things principally to bee held inuiolable. 222.g
the Florentines were seuerely punished for breaking certaine statues. 114.e

G

GArsia Nicosio slaine by his Lord vpon suspition. 229.c
God reuealeth sinne early or late, and the punishment followeth. 170.e
the Greedines of souldiers and Captaines hath been the losse of many faire enterprises. 19.b
Gabades a Captaine of the Persians sacked the Citie of Amide. 220.h
the Greedines of English souldiers. 19.d
the Greedines of Italian souldiers. 21.c
the Greedines of the Stradiots. 21.d
Galeas Sanseuerin fled from Alexandria, and left it in pray to the enemie. 47.d
the Greatnes of courage of the Romane Common-wealth. 93.b
the Germanes were defeated by the Guelphes before Siena. 121.d
in chusing of Generals for the warres the

the qualitie of the warre and the worthines of the person which is to be chosen, is chiefly to be regarded. 50.g
the Gabaonites punished for abusing a stranger. 246.e
a Gentlewoman of Cesena much praised. 102.g

H

HAnnibal *preserued by a gentleman of Capua.* 246.g
Hanniball *compelled the Saguntines to depart their countrey with the cloathes on their backes onely.* 182.e
Harpagus *tooke pitie of* Cyrus *being an innocent infant.* 74.c
Harpagus *Generall for* Astyages *reuolted from him, ouercame and slew him.* 75.a
Henry *the* 5. *Emperour made warre in Sicilie against King* Roger. 54.e
He that is employed ought to haue an eye to his Princes qualities and conditions. 36.e
the Hopes of banished men are more measured with desire then with reason. 86.h
Hippolito de Medicis *much fauoured of the Hungars.* 240.g
Herod *made a promise to his daughter in law, without any consideration.* 179.d
Hierom Sauonarola *lost his credit in Florence.* 28.e
Hippolita *Cardinall of Ferrara, made the eyes of* Iulius de Este *to be plackt out and set in againe.* 87.d
Hospitalitie is a vertue worthie of a gentleman & a Christian. 244.e
Hugo de Moncado *slaine in a battaile by Sea against* Phillippin de Doria. 191.e

I

IT *is notable folly to giue much credit to iudiciall Astrologie.* 57.c
It is not possible to foresee or preuent al the mishaps & disgraces which may happen to Princes, neither to resist or redresse them when they happen. 51.f
It is follie to commit the state of an Empire to the will of a few. 154.e
Iohn Bentiuogli *and* Hermes *his sonne in one night murthered almost all those which were of the house of* Marescotti, *or depending thereof, through suspition.* 64.g
Iaques Caldor *noted of inconstancie.* 233.a
Imbault *Generall of the French armie mocked the Florentines.* 72.g
Iohn Rata *Earle of Caserta put his Lord* Manfredi *King of Sicilie in extreame danger.* 78.e
the Insolence of the Spanish souldiers. 132.g
the Imeresians seaze vpon Reggio. 141.c
Ioy cannot be hidden. 99.c
the Issue and end of an enterprise manifesteth the wisedom of the counsell giuen. 178.e

he which doth an Iniurie doth more shame and dishonour to himselfe, then to him to whom the wrong is done. 73.c

to deface an Image or Statue is a poore reuenge. 113.a

Inconstancie and lightnes of wit is greatly to be reproued, principally in a Captaine. 233.b

L

LAwes *ordained by* Valerius Coruinus, *and* Tiberius Gracchus. 221.b

Laurence de Medicis *reconciled to* Alfonse *King of Naples.* 6.h

Let not him which is not of power sufficient attempt enterprises which he cannot maintaine. 11.b

Lewes More *out of countenance and mocked by the Florentine Ambassadours.* 24.h

the Law of Appeal *introduced by* Sauonarola. 27.c

the Lord of Tremouille with absolute power concluded a peace with the Swissers, notwithstanding that it was vpon very vnworthie conditions. 34.g

Light beleefe in euery thing sheweth a light wit, and weak braines. 53.b

it is Lost labour to goe about to perswade obstinate persons by reason: for the more they are counselled, the more stifly they persist in their opinion. 60.g

Lautrech *through his obstinacie was the cause of the totall ruine of the French Army before Naples, and was the occasion of his owne death.* 61.a

Liuius Salinator *exposed the Romane Armie to manifest danger.* 27.a

the Laurentines in reuenge of the iniurie done to their Ambassadours slew Tatius *king of the Romanes.* 89.b

Lewes More *Gouernour of Milan, caused himselfe to bee called the sonne of Fortune.* 99.d

Lewes *Duke of Milan betrayed by the Swissers.* 52.e

Lycurgus *his Law.* 140.h

the liberalitie of Artaxerxes. 188.h

the liberalitie of Cosmo de Medicis *Duke of Florence.* 203.a

M

MOre *praise and commendation is purchased by pardoning, then by taking reuenge.* 102.f

a Man wrongeth himself in speaking ill of his superiours. 211.b

no Man would be too freely reprehended. 209.d

a Man ought to bee well aduised how he promise any thing. 179.b

a Man may in two manners haue knowledge of his enemies purposes. 156.h

a Man cannot retaine that greatnes in aduersitie, which he shewed in the beginning of his prosperitie. 91.b

no Man is absolutely nor altogether wicked. 82.h

Men happen oftentimes to haue need of those men, which in former time they despised. 69.d

no Man can ſerue two maſters. 232.*b*
a Man ought by his wiſedome to eſchue & ouercome the euils threatned againſt him by his conſtellation. 59.*d*
Manfredi *by a wile deliuered himſelfe frõ the ſiege of Nocerra, and ſeazed on the kingdome of Sicilie.* 56.*f*
no Mans friendſhip is to be deſpiſed whatſoeuer when it is offred. 45.*c*
one Mans doings ought not to ſerue for a generall rule for all mẽ. 42.*g*
Manlius Torquatus *cauſed his own ſonne to be ſlaine.* 63.*e*
the Meanes of Duke Valentine *to make himſelfe great.* 29.*d*

N

NIcholas Campo Bachio *an Italian Earle, to be reuenged betrayed his Maſter* Charles *Duke of Burgundie, and withdrew himſelfe to* Lewes *King of France.* 78.*b*
a Notable ouerthrow of the Engliſh. 21.*a*
the Noblenes of a man is to be conſidered according to his valour and vertue, and not according to and after his deſcent. 46.*g*
a Notable reuenge vpon Panioni Sciotte *by* Hermotine *of Pedaſe.* 76.*f*
a Noble act of the Emperour Maximilian. 103.*e*
Nicias *a Captaine of the Athenians through his temeritie was ouercome & ſlain by* Gilippus. 127.*b*
the Noble mind of the Emperor Rodulph *the firſt.* 183.*a*
Nicholas Franco *was hanged at Rome for railing.* 224.*g*
Narſes *wroth with the Emperour of Conſtantinople.* 235.*d*

O

ONe *fooliſh act maketh a man to bee reputed a foole, and one act of infidelitie maketh a mã for euer to be held for diſloyall.* 196.*g*
the Opinion of the Marqueſſe of Peſcara. 161.*a*
the Ouerthrow of the Florentines before Piſa, through the policie of Mutolo *a Piſan Captaine.* 105.*b*
Obſtinacie maketh men cruell both againſt themſelues & others. 61.*c*
an Obſtinate man loueth rather to dye, then to ſhew euen the leaſt ſigne of humilitie. 62.*g*
the Ouerthrowe of the French at Guinguaſt in Picardie. 22.*f*
the Ouerſight of Peter de Medicis. 7.*b*

P

PEace *betweene* Charles *the fift and* Francis *the firſt King of France.* 238.*e*
Peter de Medicis *chaſed from his countrey.* 4.*h*
Penander *the tyrant ſlaine by one of his houſehold.* 15.*d*
the Pleaſant dangerous ieſt of a ſouldier. 16.*e*
Peter de Medicis *driuen from Florence.* 33.*a*
Paulo Vitellio *condemned to die by the Florentines.* 34.*e*

the People of Milan reiected by Lewes King of France. 45.b
the Pisans loued better to subiect themselues to the Genoays their mortall enemies, than to the Florentines their Lords, neighbours, and friends. 63.b
Peter Candian Prince of Venice, for his euill behauiour was slaine by the common people. 77.d
Princes haue neede of many things, and of the seruice of many persons. 86.h
Paulanias murthered Phillip king of Macedonia his soueraigne Lord 187.c
more Praise is purchased by pardoning, than by taking reuenge. 102.f
Petilius Coreal Generall for the Romanes, through his negligence was put to flight. 106.g
Prospero Columna through his owne fault was taken prisoner by the Lord of Palisse, a Commaunder of the French. 108.e
Prato sacked by the Spaniards. 117.b
Publike persons hauing charge, incur many errors if they bee not endued with wisdome. 149.b
Pope Leo the tenth his discourse to a Groome of his Chamber. 189.a
a Prince ought to consider what he speaketh in choler when he speaketh any thing of any particular subiect. 211.d
the Prudence of the Senate of Siracusa. 215.d
Particular persons preserued by God. 244.g
Peace between the Emperor Charles the fift, and Francis the first, king of France. 238.e
Peter Brunor betraied Francis Sforce. 234.e
a Prince ought to consider of the qualitie of euill speeches. 223.c
Prospero and Fabritio Columna, returne to the seruice of Ferdinand king of Naples. 9.c
the common People is insatiable, euer coueteth new things, and is neuer content. 44.g
a Prince ought to haue many Spies, and one not to know the other. 160.f
the Prudence of king Francis the first, in the battaile against the Swissers at Marignan. 158.e
Proude men are hardly appeased by humilitie. 98.e

R

ROger the second, king of Sicilie, taken prisoner by the Emperour, Henry. the fift, at Palermo, with his three sisters, and had his eyes and stones pluckt out, and dyed in prison. 54.f
more Reckoning is made of one pleasure to come, than of a hundred alreadie receiued. 29.d
a publike Rumor is not to be contemned, because it seemeth, that what is in euery mans mouth, is to be held for a diuine oracle. 58.f
Rome abandoned by the Romanes, for feare of the Gaules. 104.h
Robert K. of Sicilie taken prisoner, and

and afterwards deliuered by his brother Roger. 180.f

S

SPies *may doe harme by their reports to Princes.* 160.e
a Scoſſe vſed by an Agent, for Charles *the fift.* 200.g
certaine Spaniſh Captaines conuict of treaſon, and made to paſſe the Pikes. 168.f
to Speake to no purpoſe is hurtfull. 165.d
the Subtiltie of Gonſaluo Fernandes, *the great Captaine.* 161.c
Spyes ought not by a Prince to be aduaunced to honours and publike charges. 160.g
the Swiſſers were deceiued by the French, in paſsing the Alpes. 155.c
Subiects ought not to be put in diſpaire, by maintaining of Gouernours. 132.e
Silenonte was taken by the Carthagenians, for that it was not in time relieued by the Siracuſans. 119.c
Sundrie opinions whether a man ought to containe himſelfe within the bonds of his Commiſsion. 35.c
a Small matter breaketh friendſhip, but much is required to reſtore it. 25.d
Scipio Naſica *odious to the Romane people.* 15.d
a Spirit appeared to Iaques *a Chirurgion, in the likenes of* Ferdinand *king of Naples.* 12.g
Spirits are of two kindes. 12.h
a Spirit appeared to Saul *in the likenes of* Samuel. 13.a
Spirits appeare in diuers formes. 13.b
to what kind of men they appeare. eadem.
a Subiect ought to diſſemble his diſcontentment, when he is reiected by his Prince. 203.e

T

TErentius Varro *defeated by the Carthagenians.* 151.c
Things which may be or not be, and depend on the will of Fortune, ought not conſtantly to be affirmed, before they be perfourmed. 149.d
Tygranes *king of Armenia, put to flight, by* Lucullus *a Captaine of the Romanes.* 122.g
They which doe wrong and ſhew crueltie to the dead, are worthie of eternall ſhame and diſhonour. 113.b
To knowe what may breede feare in an enemie, is the beginning of good ſucceſſe. 111.c
Themiſtocles *poyſoned himſelfe.* 85.d
There are fiue things which induce a man which hath been diſloyall to his firſt friend, to be faithfull to the ſecond. 42.g

V

VIrginio Vrſin *ſent his ſonne to ſerue the French.* 8.h

that Vertue is knowne in time of trouble, which in peace is not esteemed. 49.a
Vigil Michael Flumin of Venice in disgrace with the people. 55.b
Valentine cunningly entrapped by Galeatius Visconti, and sent into the Castle at Medina del Campo. 81.d
that is a perfect Victorie, which assureth a man in his estate, and deliuereth him from the feare of his enemies. 109.a
an imperfect Victorie, is the seede, roote, and originall of another warre. 109.c
Victorie is oftentimes the cause of vice. 109.d
what persuasions would not suffer Bernard Corrutini to kill the Duke of Milan. 133.c
the Villanie of certaine Spanish Captaines, who by treason would haue murthered the Almain, & Captaine of the Venetians to haue been slaine. 154.b
that Vertue is knowne in time of trouble, which in peace is not esteemed. 149.a

W

William the first, king of Sicilie, would neuer beleeue, that Maion a fauorite of his, would haue slaine him. 59.b
William king of Sicilie, caused a certaine Iudge to be flayed, because he did not execute Iustice in his charge. 134.f
the Warlie speech of Marius and Fabius Maximus. 219.b
the Wise answer of the Poet Philippides, to king Lysimachus. 218.b

X

Xenophon giueth his Souldiers to vnderstand that hee had not robbed thē of their pay. 217.d

Z

Zophir by fraude put the Citie of Babilon into the hands of king Darius. 144.b

FINIS.